Quarterly of the California Historical Society

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March, 1928

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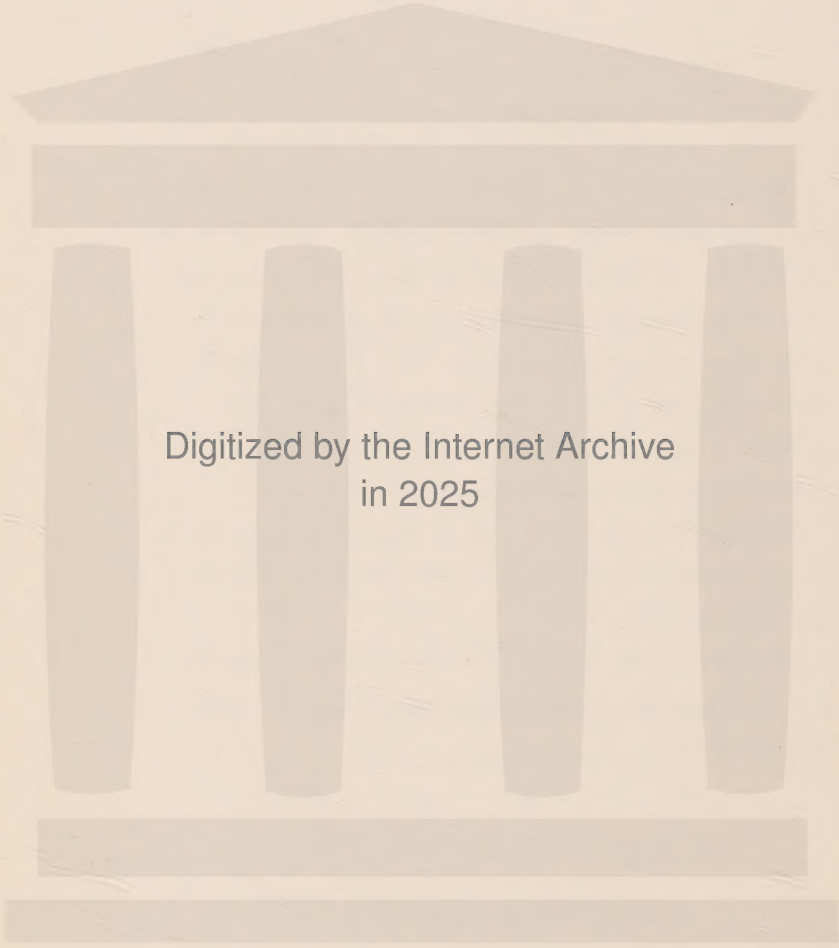
The reminiscences and diaries of Col. James Clyman which appeared in this *Quarterly* (Vols. IV, V, and VI, 1925-1927) are being published by this Society in book form. Additions and corrections as well as extra-illustrations, maps and index are included. The volume is Special Publication No. 3 of the Society's publications and is uniform in size and binding with the previous number of this series, "A Frenchman in the Gold Rush."

The issue consists of only three hundred copies, and as the sale will be general, it is advisable that members order their copies at once.

The price will be $4.00 a copy. Orders may be sent to the Society at 301 Women's Building, 609 Sutter Street, San Francisco.



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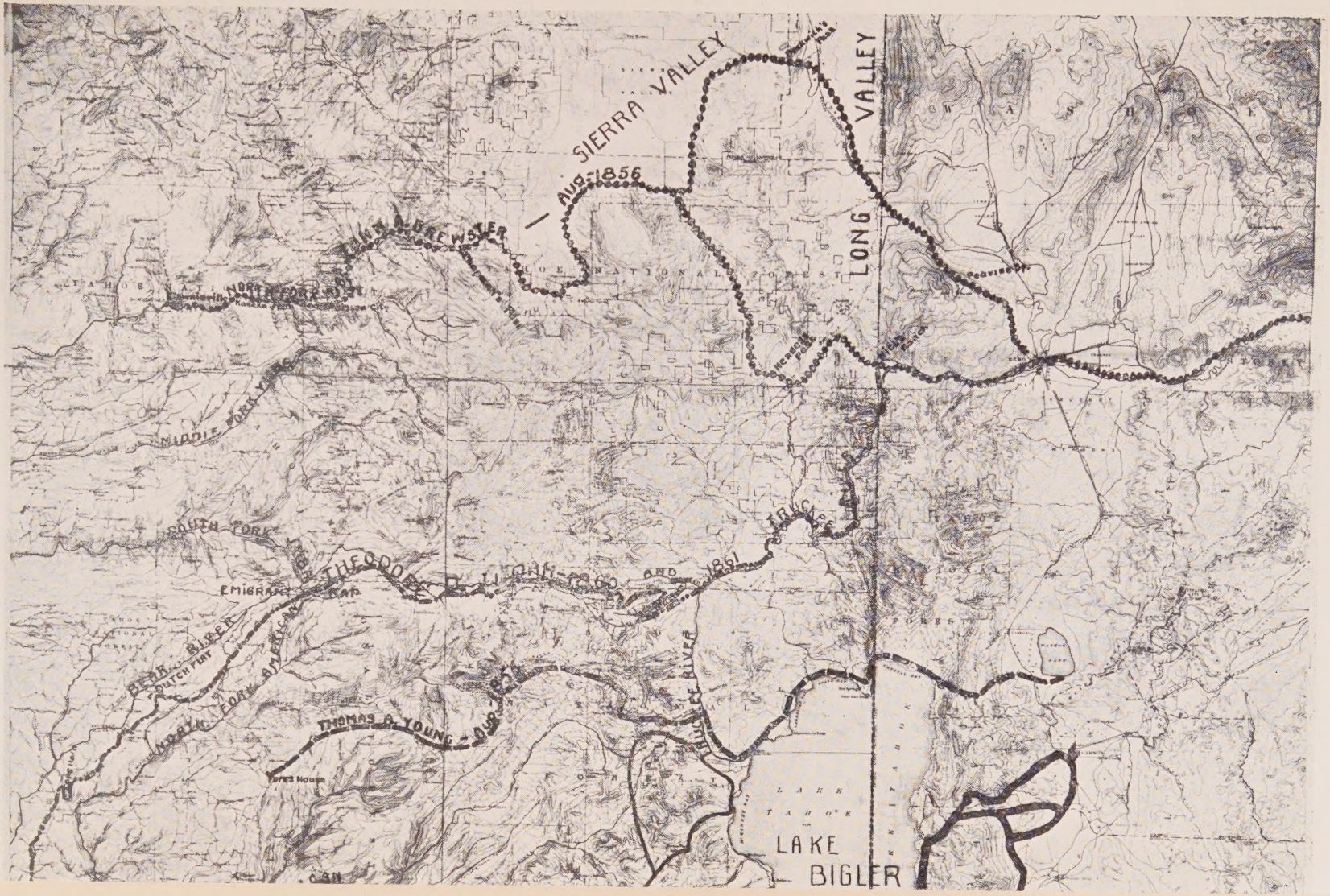
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NORTH FORK
MIDDLE FORK
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TRUCKEE
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DUTCH FLAT
NORTH FORK AMERICAN
THOMAS A. YOUNG - AUG
TRUCKEE RIVER
LAKE TAHOE
LAKE BIGLER

SURVEYS OF THE
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NOVEMBER 1855
STANISLAUS
G.B. ROGERS
SAN ANDREAS

VOL. VII, No. 1 MARCH, 1928

Quarterly of the
California Historical Society

SURMOUNTING THE SIERRAS

The Campaign for a Wagon Road

When on March 3, 1853, Congress incorporated into the General Appropriations Act a clause providing for "a careful reconnoissance of the various proposed routes for a railroad from the Mississippi Valley to the Pacific Ocean," Californians had witnessed nearly two decades of fruitless agitation for more adequate means of overland communication. The Pacific Railroad was a matter of such immediate concern to them that the news of this legislation was the cause of great jubilation.

By authority of that Act, five well-organized parties of reconnoissance made their way into the comparatively unknown West, to determine the most practicable route for a Pacific Railroad.[1] For two years these intrepid pathfinders explored the principal depressions of the two great western mountain ranges, the courses of streams flowing in every direction from their snow-clad summits, the great basin intervening, and the vast fertile valleys and verdured hills beyond them.

When the Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis, presented a report of their findings to Congress, he stressed emphatically the relative excellence of the southernmost route, since this route was reported to be most nearly free from the great obstacle — winter's snow. The people of Los Angeles were highly pleased with the possibility of a Southern Pacific Railroad.[2] On the other hand, certain irreconcilable citizens of San Francisco, Sacramento, and the mining districts of the central Sierras accused the Secretary of criminal duplicity in the matter of the selection of the route for the Pacific Railroad. "Indeed," insisted the editor of the *Alta California,* a San Francisco newspaper, "we have no doubt that they (the Topographical Engineers) were sent out for that very purpose" — to report the southern route preferable to all others.[3]

The justice of that accusation is readily recognized when one traces upon a map of the trans Mississippi West the lines marked out by those engineers; for the great central portion of the Sierras, from Beckwith Pass in the north, to Walker Pass in the south, had not been examined by them. Certainly, the sin of their omission appears increasingly obvious when one recollects that the Sierra Nevada, with its grim tale of the ill-fated Donner party, had, since the

[1] App. to *Cong. Globe,* 31 Cong., 1 Sess., (1850), XIX, 3.
[2] *Southern California Weekly,* April 25, 1855,2.
[3] *Alta California,* April 16, 1855, 2.

beginning of agitation for a Pacific Railroad, served as a great bug-a-boo to quiet proponents of the northern and central routes.

Westerners in Central California felt that the report of the Secretary of War merely added infamy to the professed policy of the Franklin Pierce administration. That President, who had succeeded Millard Fillmore on March 4, 1853, was an ultra-conservative Democrat with leanings toward the South, and was staunchly opposed to government appropriations for the purpose of internal improvements. When referring to the government's responsibility in regard to better means of overland communication, Pierce had remarked, "We can afford to wait but we cannot afford to overlook the ark of our security."[4] By that solecism Pierce alluded to the Constitution of the United States, "in which," he said, "I find no such language as 'Internal Improvements.' "[5] Californians, deeply chagrined by the President's political profession, expressed their concern thus, "We believe the undertaking (a wagon road or railroad) past all hope for the present."

Californians Demand More Adequate Means of Overland Transportation

Undaunted by the administration's opposition, the more sanguine of these pioneers fervently believed that a railroad and a wagon road over the central route were possible, practicable and inevitable. They were anxious and determined to demonstrate their contention. At seven o'clock on the evening of December 12, 1854, therefore, a large public mass meeting was held at Musical Hall, on Bush Street, in San Francisco. The announced purpose of that assembly was to consider California's paramount need for more adequate means of overland communication. It had been advertised as the "Atlantic Pacific Railroad Meeting."[6] The foremost business men of the city were present. The pioneer firms of Robinson and Company, Wells Fargo and Company, and Adams and Company were well represented.

A preliminary organization was quickly accomplished. It was agreed that the investigation of the practicability and cost of constructing a wagon road over the Sierra Nevada to Carson Valley should be intrusted to an executive committee of twenty-five responsible citizens, appointed by the chairman. Colonel John C. Frémont, and Captain W. T. Sherman, subsequently of Civil War fame, were prominent committee men. Doctor P. M. Wozencraft, well-known San Francisco civic leader, was chosen to serve as chairman of the committee of twenty-five. He was instructed to draft and present to the California Legislature, resolutions calling to the attention of that body "the paramount necessity" for a Pacific Railway.

The first meeting of the executive committee was held at Musical Hall on the evening of December 28, 1854. The secretary reported that he had conferred with the stable owners of the city of Sacramento, and that from informa-

[4] *S. Ex. Docs.*, 33 Cong., 1 Sess., I, (746), doc. I, 17.
[5] *New York Times*, Jan. 4, 1855, 2.
[6] *Alta California*, Dec. 12, 1854, 2.

tion so gained it appeared that a wagon road and stage line from Missouri to California were eminently practicable, but that, on the other hand, a Pacific Railroad was "an enterprise for the future." The route which he recommended, starting at Independence, Missouri, passed Fort Kearney and followed out the North Patte River to Fort Laramie, thence crossed the continental divide at South Pass and descended the west side of the Rockies to Great Salt Lake. From this point the emigrant trail along the Humboldt River to its sink and over the Sierras by way of Carson Valley, the "Johnson Cut-off," and Placerville to Sacramento was considered the shortest and most practicable. Nothing further was accomplished, and the meeting adjourned.[7]

The second meeting of the Emigrant Road Committee convened on January 2, 1855, at Musical Hall. Mayor Webb of San Francisco presided in the absence of Dr. Wozencraft. Mr. Prixley, a prominent business man of the community, noted that there was a "very slim attendance on account of the rain." However, several lengthy resolutions were adopted. They embraced the following significant declarations: First, That a railroad from the Atlantic to the Pacific is the grand enterprise of this age and of the American people, but it cannot be realized soon enough to meet the urgent necessity of the times; second, That an emigrant road from the valley of the Mississippi to connect with a road, to be constructed by the people of California, extending to the eastern boundary of that State is what the highest and best interests of California and the whole country require; third, That the State Legislature be requested to appropriate a sufficient amount of money to place in condition for travel, a wagon road from some convenient point to the eastern limit of our State.[8]

Concurrently with the second meeting of the Emigrant Road Committee, an assembly of citizens was convened at Marysville to "take into consideration and devise means to promote an overland mail route enterprise."[9]

Sacramento periodicals sent up the cry, "When shall we have a meeting in this city?"[10] Little agitation concerning the matter was necessary. On January 10, 1855, Mayor R. P. Johnson summoned an assembly of townsmen to convene at the New Orleans Hotel at 7:30 p. m., for the purpose of considering the "importance and feasibility" of constructing a "post road, or other road, from the Sacramento Valley to the Missouri River, by way of Great Salt Lake."

The example afforded by the larger cities was followed by the smaller communities. Citizens of Placerville held meetings on January twenty-third and twenty-fifth, to consider the question of surveying the "Johnson Cut-off." Money was raised to finance the project and an engineer was engaged.[11] Early in February, a similar meeting was held at Shasta and the construction of an emigrant road from the Humboldt Sink to the Sacramento Valley, by way of Noble's Pass, was recommended to the Legislature.[12]

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[7] *Alta California,* Dec. 29, 1854.
[8] *Ibid.,* Dec. 29, 1854, 2.
[9] *Sacramento Union,* Jan. 6, 1855, 2.
[10] *Ibid.,* Jan. 20, 1855, 2.
[11] *Sacramento Union,* Jan. 30, 1855, 2.
[12] *Ibid.,* Feb. 20, 1855, 2.

On January sixteenth a third meeting of the Emigrant Road Committee convened at the office of J. P. Havern in San Francisco. Governor John Bigler, Captain W. T. Sherman, and Dr. Wozencraft were present. This body resolved to incorporate under the general laws of the State of California as the "Pacific Emigrant Society." The avowed objects of the organization were:

(1) To promote permanent settlement in California,
(2) To furnish information concerning the best routes, etc.,
(3) To alleviate the suffering of stranded emigrant parties,
(4) To coöperate in protecting emigrants against Indian depradations, and
(5) To use influence toward the opening of roads or a railroad.

Governor Bigler's message of January 1, 1855, added weight to this agitation. He re-emphasized the sentiments embodied in the resolutions adopted by the Emigrant Road Committee. In fact, the Governor believed that the most feasible route for a wagon and stage road was the one recommended by that body.[13] To be sure, this was the route by which he had come as an immigrant to the Golden State.[14]

State Legislation for an Emigrant Road over the Sierras

In deference to these petitions and recommendations, the Legislature of California soon passed a bill, which was approved by Governor Bigler, on April 28, 1855, providing for the construction of a wagon road from the Sacramento Valley to the eastern boundary of the State.[15] Californians believed that this legislation presented itself as "the harbinger of the early completion of the great and magnificent scheme, a railroad to the Pacific."[16]

The bill provided that a commission composed of the Governor, the Secretary of State, and the Surveyor General, should receive bids for the construction of a wagon road from the valley of the Sacramento over the Sierras to the Carson Valley; that the State should contract with the lowest and most reliable bidder; that the entire cost of the road, including the survey, should not exceed $105,000; and that the Surveyor General should decide, by careful reconnoissance, the most practicable and economical route.[17]

The Legislature subsequently failed to appropriate the $5,000 necessary for conducting a preliminary survey of the route,[18] and therefore, Surveyor General H. S. Marlette was prevented from proceeding immediately with the reconnoissance. However, undaunted by their negligence, he appealed to the citizens of Placerville and Calaveras, as well as to the supervisors of the County of Eldorado for assistance in financing the survey.

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[13] *Ibid.*, Jan. 6, 1855, 2.

[14] *Ibid.*, Jan. 9, 1855, 2.

[15] *Alta California,* April 17, 1855, 2; *S. Journal of Calif.,* 6 Sess., (1855), 663-69; *A. Journal of Calif.,* 7 Sess., (1855), 14-24; *Statutes of Calif.,* 6 Sess., (1855), 180-81.

[16] *Sacramento Union,* June 15, 1855, 2.

[17] *Statutes of California,* 6 Sess., (1855), 180-81.

[18] *Sacramento Union,* Sept. 20, 1855, 2; *Alta California,* Nov. 11, 1855, 2.

The Sherman Day Survey

Liberal subscriptions were received, and on June eleventh, Sherman Day, a State senator and prominent railroad engineer, set out with orders to determine the most practicable route for a wagon road from the Sacramento Valley to the Carson Valley.[19] Day commenced his task on June fourteenth. From Georgetown in Eldorado County, he proceeded to the point at which the Middle Fork of the American River issues "from the highest mountains." Thence he followed a ridge which separates the waters of the Middle Fork, American River, and Silver Creek, a tributary of the South Fork of the American River. Turning north, he forded a tributary of the Middle Fork American (probably the Rubicon) and scaled a granite ridge, which runs east and west. Continuing northward, he crossed the Middle Fork, and "by a low pass," entered a valley from which two small lakes drain into Lake Bigler (Tahoe).

Day hoped to continue around the southern shore of Lake Bigler to Eagle Ranch Pass. (This is the pass by which travellers on the Johnson Cut-off entered the Carson Valley on their way to California.) However, for reasons not mentioned in his report, he was forced to return to the Sacramento Valley, but soon set out again.

The Marlette-Day Survey

Marlette accompanied Day on the second expedition. The reconnoissance was begun at Cold Springs (Taylor's Ranch) and continued north and east across Plum and Wolf creeks to the South Fork of the American River. The party proceeded up this stream to the Red Lake Fork. Following the latter past the Tragedy Fork and Silver Lake Fork, they arrived on the shores of Red (Clear) Lake. Below Taylor's Ranch a good road was considered possible, but Day reported that the remainder of the distance in the direction of Clear Lake was "hard to travel."

In order to construct a wagon road along this route, a deep cut in the mountains west of Clear Lake was believed necessary. Day explained, however, that this would fill with snow in winter and consequently the road would be impassable for a considerable portion of the year, since the sun's rays could not penetrate easily into the cut.

From Clear Lake the Marlette-Day party passed through East Summit (Carson) Pass and descended several hundred feet to Hope Valley, which was described as pleasant and sloping gently toward Carson Canyon.

This canyon, quite narrow, with high, perpendicular cliffs on each side, was the terror of the early emigrants. Erosion had cast down great granite boulders onto the floor of the canyon. These proved a barrier to early westward progress. By 1855, however, these obstructions had been removed.

From the eastern end of the canyon, the party passed by a very good road to Mormon Station, distant about seventeen miles. Three miles south of this

[19] *Sacramento Union,* June 16, 1855, 2.

point they examined an exceedingly difficult pass (Daggett's Pass) leading west from Carson Valley to the shores of Lake Bigler. At the eastern end of the mountain ridge, which bounds the Carson Valley on the west, is a low pass, situated just southwest of Eagle Pass. Though Day estimated that this was the lowest depression in the mountains, he considered that the descent would, of necessity, be so circuitous that even the highest peak in the Sierras would be more preferable for a wagon road. The party turned westward along this "cut-off" and descended to the shores of Lake Bigler, whence they returned to Hope Valley by way of Luther's Pass (a depression in the eastern summit of the Sierra). Day felt that the route from Eagle Pass through Carson Valley and Canyon to Hope Valley and thence by Luther's Pass, Johnson's Pass and Slippery Ford, on the South Fork of the American River, was the most desirable route over the mountains.[20] This route is now the site of an automobile highway.

From Johnson's Pass, the party descended toward the west, along the upper waters of the American River's South Fork to Slippery Ford, and from this point followed the dividing ridge of the South Fork and Silver Creek. South Fork River was crossed at Barlett's Bridge, from whence a road to the Sacramento Valley had been comparatively well established.

It is not generally known that the central Sierra has a double summit. At most points, the eastern summit is higher than the western, or main summit. During the long search for "the most practicable route" for a Pacific Railroad, engineers hoped to locate a line which would enable them to surmount the Sierras without crossing both of these ridges. This was not accomplished until, in the fall of 1860, Theodore D. Judah, California's pioneer railroad engineer, made a preliminary examination of the route over which the Central Pacific was ultimately constructed.

Sherman Day proposed to eliminate part of this difficulty by constructing a bridge at some point between Johnson's Pass, in the western summit, and Luther's Pass, in the eastern summit. Thus, Day would have shortened the descent on the eastern side of the western ridge, while the ascent on the western slope of the eastern summit would have been correspondingly lessened.[21]

The George H. Goddard Survey

Upon his return to Sacramento, Surveyor General Marlette directed George H. Goddard, who was an able California engineer, to "determine, astronomically, with some precision, the position of the eastern boundary of the State of California" and to "take such barometrical observations" as would enable him to construct a profile of the route which, "in the judgment of Sherman Day," would be the most practicable and economical for the Emigrant Road.

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[20] App. to *S. Journal of Calif.*, 7 Sess., (1856), doc. V, 6-191, (Annual Report of Surveyor General of California); *Sacramento Union*, June 16, 1856, 2; *Ibid.*, Oct. 6, 1856, 2.

[21] App. to *S. Journal of Calif.*, 7 Sess., (1856), doc. V, 6-191; *Reports of Chief Engineer of Central Pacific Railroad Company*, 1861 and 1862. *See also, California Historical Society Quarterly*, September, 1925, Wheat, Carl I., "Sketch of the Life of Theodore D. Judah," 219.

Goddard set out from Placerville on August twenty-sixth, accompanied by Day and six assistants. The company stopped at Cold Springs Ranch, which was estimated to be 4,517 feet above sea-level, and thence continued along the route previously followed by the Marlette-Day party.

On August thirtieth, they made their way through the west summit pass (9,036 feet), and camped on the shores of Clear Lake, at an altitude of 8,736 feet. Here they determined to set up a permanent rendezvous, for there was an abundance of fish and game. Indeed, one member of the party "brought in some fine duck" for their Sunday dinner. On Tuesday, the fourth of September, Goddard and three companions crossed the eastern summit at Carson Pass (7,972 feet) and dropped down 1,437 feet to Hope Valley. At the head of the Carson Canyon the instruments registered an altitude of 6,488 feet. En route to Mormon Station, Goddard took the altitude of Daggett's Ranch and found it to be 4,417 feet.

From Carson Valley, the Goddard party returned to their camp at Clear Lake by way of Luther's Pass. That depression, in the eastern divide of the Sierras, he estimated to be 741 feet lower than the Carson Pass, and hence more suitable for a wagon road. Following south along the summit of the divide, the party came upon their Clear Lake rendezvous on Admission Day. Fortunately, Goddard brought supplies from Mormon Station, for upon his arrival he discovered that for several days Sherman Day and his comrades had been subsisting on "squirrels and ground rats."

The camp was abandoned at eleven o'clock on the morning of September thirteenth, and the party, under Goddard, proceeded to Hope Valley via the Carson Pass, while Sherman Day returned to Placerville. From Hope Valley, the little company crossed into Lake Valley by way of Luther's Pass. Thence, they continued in a northerly direction down the Little (Upper) Truckee River to its source, on Lake Bigler.

Goddard would have gone still further north along the shores of the lake, but the winter season was fast approaching. However, he recommended in his report that a thorough examination of the mountains above Lake Bigler be made, suggesting that perhaps a more suitable pass for the Pacific Railroad might be located in that region. Their supplies soon ran low and the company was forced to return by the shortest route to Mormon Station.* On their way, Goddard measured the altitude of Daggett's Pass (6,824 feet).

The task was completed on September twenty-eighth and the Goddard party set out for Placerville. They returned to Lake Valley by Daggett's Pass, ascended to the summit of the western divide of the Sierras at Johnson's Pass (6,752 feet), and followed the Marlette-Day route through Slippery Ford (5,358 feet), and over Barlett's Bridge (2,532 feet) to Placerville.†

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* Though Bancroft shows both Genoa and Mormon Station, as on the accompanying map, they were undoubtedly the same place.

† *Annual Report of Surveyor General of Calif.*, 1856.

The Wagon Road Act and Its Constitutionality

Believing that the information which the engineers had presented was sufficient to establish the practicability of a wagon road over the Sierras, the Commissioners advertised for sealed bids for the work of construction. The bidding ended at four p. m. on December twenty-eighth,[22] and L. B. Leach of Stockton, who had agreed to complete the task for $58,000, subject to the approval of the Surveyor General, was awarded the contract. Upon investigation, it was discovered that Mr. Leach was a fictitious personage.[23]

San Francisco periodicals hinted that officials of the city of Stockton had connived to delay the construction of the wagon road. For it was believed that these culprits had hoped that J. Neely Johnson, who was soon to be inaugurated as the successor of John Bigler, would question the constitutionality of the law of April 28, 1855, and thus indefinitely postpone the completion of the road.[24]

That officials of Stockton connived in this matter does not seem to be a substantial supposition, since at that time agitation for a wagon road over the Sierras was as keen at Stockton as at Sacramento, or Marysville. In fact, E. S. Holden, one of the foremost politicians of Stockton and subsequently Mayor of that city, was interested in any and all transportation projects.[25]

On the other hand, it is interesting that owners of steamships entering the port of San Francisco were averse to the construction of the road. Their hostile sentiments were expressed in these positive terms, "So far as concerns the wagon road, we believe the Governor, Attorney General, Surveyor General, and Treasurer can jointly or severally stop this illegal outlay of money; and furthermore, that each of these officers is sworn to protect the people of California from this outrage."[26]

Whether or not other pressure was exerted upon these officials is not known. The facts indicate that perhaps the whole story has not been told, for the Federal Government was at that time paying an annual bonus of $1,200,000 for the execrable mail service rendered by owners of steamships which plied between New York and Chagres on the Atlantic Coast and between Panama and San Francisco on the Pacific.[27] Indeed, it appears that competition at this period of our history was ruinous — even to mail carriers. Moreover, it will be recalled that, although the Act of April 28, 1855, provided for an appropriation, not to exceed $105,000, still the Legislature neglected to approve such appropriation. The State Comptroller, likewise, refused to audit accounts under the provisions of the Wagon Road Act.[28]

As hereinbefore indicated, the surveys were carried on unofficially. Those engaged in the work were willing to trust the Legislature to appropriate the money necessary to cover that portion of the expense not already defrayed with

[22] *Daily Alta California,* Dec. 30, 1855, 2.
[23] *Alta California,* Jan. 11, 1856, 2.
[24] *Ibid.,* Jan. 11, 1856, 2.
[25] *Sacramento Union,* April 16, 1858, 2.
[26] *Alta California,* Nov. 3, 1855, 2.
[27] *New York Times,* Nov. 21, 1853, 2.
[28] App. to *S. Journal,* 7 Sess., (1856), doc. V, 110.

the funds advanced by the County of Eldorado, or donated by private subscription. However, the seventh session of the Legislature met and adjourned, but contrary to expectation, no money was appropriated with which to remunerate the surveyors. Their claims remained unpaid until April 30, 1857.[29]

The constitutionality of the measure was challenged. The Attorney General brought an action to enjoin the operation of the law. At the hearing, Judge Monson of San Francisco ruled that the Wagon Road Act was unconstitutional.[30] The decision was then referred to the State Supreme Court, where the question remained throughout the summer of 1856. Finally, however, the higher tribunal sustained the ruling of Judge Monson. On December eighth, the Wagon Road Act of April 28, 1855, was declared repugnant to the provisions of Article VIII of the Constitution of California.[31]

The O. B. Powers Survey

In the meantime, O. B. Powers of Calaveras County made a report to the Surveyor General of a route explored by a party which he had conducted from Big Tree to Carson Valley. The members of this party were Dr. C. N. Congdon, A. H. Hall, J. Thornton, L. W. Noyes, J. S. Niswander, H. Carpon, and a Mexican guide by the name of Manuel Lemon.

Their route lay in a northeasterly direction from Big Tree to Mr. Woodruff's steam mill, and thence along the South Fork of the Mokelumne River, past Black Springs to Big Meadows (Smith's). Big Meadows forms the divide for the upper waters of the Stanislaus and Mokelumne rivers. The party continued east to the summit of the knoll which separates these waters and descended into Silver Valley. At the head of this valley they crossed a ridge, by a gentle slope, and entered another valley to which Powers gave the name Stanislaus, since one of the branches of that river rises there.

At a point further north, the party recrossed the ridge which divides the waters of the Stanislaus and Mokelumne rivers. At the summit of this divide was a small lake. Thence by a gentle grade they ascended to the canyon of the upper waters of the North Fork of the Mokelumne River, which lies between two precipitous ridges. Turning north and west and winding between loose granite boulders, the company scaled the northern ridge, bounding the North Fork Mokelumne River Canyon and crossed to a small valley about four miles distant. At the northern end of this valley stood the summit of the Sierras. The ascent was so difficult at this point that the little party found it necessary to engage as guides a company of Washoe Indians, who had come thither from Carson Valley to hunt game. Powers, therefore, called this Indian Valley, which name it still retains. The Indians directed them to the summit by a very circuitous trail from which the descent into Little Valley to the east was very abrupt, and entirely unsatisfactory for a wagon road. However, from Indian

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[29] *Statutes of California,* 8 Session, (1857), 364.
[30] *Sacramento Union,* May 1, 1856, 2.
[31] 6 Calif. Supreme Ct. Reports, 499.

Valley Powers located an easier grade to the north, which passed through a thicket between Twin Lakes and entered Charity Valley. At the head of this valley is the highest point along the whole route.

After crossing that elevation, the party descended to Faith Valley and passed north and east over a low ridge into Hope Valley. Thence they followed on to Carson Valley by the Old Carson Road.[32]

Increased Agitation for an Emigrant Wagon Road

While the courts were considering the constitutional prerogatives of the Legislature of California relative to the appropriation of funds for the construction of a wagon road over the Sierras, an incident occurred which spurred the people of the West to renewed activity in behalf of more adequate means of overland communication.

On April 15, 1856, a body of American emigrants, en route to California, were waiting at the railroad station in the city of Panama. One of their number, John Oliver, had become intoxicated. In his delirium he offended one of the many vendors who lined the sidewalks of that district. A riot ensued in which twenty-five or thirty innocent Americans were killed, while a score or more were seriously injured.[33] When on May eighth, the news of this disaster reached San Francisco, an indignation meeting was held, at which a company of two hundred volunteers was organized for the purpose of going to Panama to avenge the wrongs and to protect the interests of American emigrants. Steamship companies refused to give these defenders of outraged innocence free passage, and their zeal to serve soon cooled.[34] However, the incident aroused the people of California to renewed activity in behalf of better means of overland communication.

On May twenty-ninth, a public mass meeting was held at Calaveras,[35] for the purpose of arranging for the collection of funds necessary to construct a wagon road from Big Tree to Carson Valley, along the route marked out by the Powers party of reconnoissance, and on June eleventh, the citizens of Stockton, at a similar meeting, pledged their support to the project already commenced by the people of Calaveras.[36]

When fifty per cent of the total amount ($5,000) had been raised, the contract for the construction of the road was awarded to Messrs. Congdon and Noyes, two members of the Powers party.[37] The work was commenced immediately, and on August sixteenth, Noyes reported that the construction crew was camped upon the summit of the mountains, that all the "heavy work" had

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[32] App. to *S. Journal of Calif.*, 7 Sess., (1856), doc. V, 187-191. (Annual Report of Surveyor General of California.)

[33] *Sacramento Union,* May 9, 1856, 1. For an account of this riot *see* Bell, Horace, *Reminiscences of a Ranger,* Los Angeles, 1881, reprinted, Santa Barbara 1927, pp. 378 *et seq.*

[34] *Sacramento Union,* May 9, 1856, 2.

[35] This is now called Calaveritas. It is located about half way between San Andreas and Angel's Camp.

[36] *Sacramento Union,* June 8, 1856, 2; June 10, 1856, 2; June 18, 1856, 2.

[37] *Ibid.,* June 26, 1856, 2.

been completed on the eastern slope of the Sierras, and that the entire distance from Big Tree to Carson Valley would be in travelling order within ten days. Eight bridges, the largest being seventy-five feet in length, were erected upon this route.[38]

On August 23, 1856, the *Calaveras Chronicle* announced that the Big Tree Road, the first over the Sierras, had been completed and was ready for travel between Murphy's and Carson Valley, and that a branch toll-road had been built from Mokelumne Hill to Jackson by Dr. Sohr.[39] Most of the immigration into California during the remainder of the year 1856 and through the spring and summer of 1857 came over this new highway. However advantageous this may have been to the interest of the northern portion of California, Sacramento people felt that this emigration "ought to have landed" in their city.

As soon as the road was completed, J. A. Thompson, a Norwegian, established a semi-monthly express and mail service between Sacramento and Carson valleys.[40] It is interesting that by means of snowshoes he was able to maintain the service "the year 'round," carrying as much as one hundred pounds of express matter upon his shoulders in a single trip across the mountains.[41]

On June twenty-eighth, the citizens of Placerville voted $5,500 for the construction of a wagon road to Carson Valley, upon the route previously surveyed by Marlette and Day, and the California Stage Company promised that as soon as the road had been placed in condition, a line of coaches should be operated between Placerville and Carson Valley,[42] connecting at the latter place with stages which a newly organized corporation, at St. Louis, proposed to install upon the central route.[43] However, the year 1856 passed away and a road along the Sherman Day survey had not yet been realized.

The John A. Brewster Survey

The spirit of competition among the mountain and valley communities of Central California manifested itself in a series of new surveys over the Sierras. On August 17, 1856, John A. Brewster, the newly-elected Surveyor General, at the request of the voters of Downieville, conducted a party of reconnoissance from that frontier town, along the North Yuba River, past New York, Kanaka Flats and Sierra City. They avoided the rugged heights of the Yuba (Sierra) Buttes by skirting them to the south and passed along the North Fork of the North Yuba to its source. The summit of the mountains was crossed by way of Chapman's Pass and the party dropped down on the eastern side to Sierra Valley. From this point, they continued north for some twenty-three miles and turning directly east, entered Long Valley, by the Beckwith Pass. Brewster thought that the waters of this valley emptied into Pyramid Lake, whereas they flow into Honey Lake.

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38 *Ibid.*, Aug. 30, 1856, 2.
39 *Ibid.*, Aug. 27, 1856, 4; Sept. 16, 1856, 2.
40 *Sacramento Union*, Nov. 17, 1856, 2.
41 *Alta California*, Feb. 25, 1857, 2; *Sacramento Union*, Jan. 10, 1857, 2.
42 *Sacramento Union*, June 30, 1856, 2.
43 *Alta California*, Aug. 21, 1856, 2.

The company soon turned south and east, passing Pea-vine Springs on their way to the Truckee River, and came upon that stream in the vicinity of the present city of Reno. Following out this stream, they arrived at Pyramid Lake and, after camping a few days upon its banks, they returned. The Sierras were recrossed by the Henness Pass and the party entered the southern end of the Sierra Valley. They continued north in the valley and returned to Downieville by Chapman's Ranch and the North Yuba River.[44]

On his return, Brewster conducted an examination of the Calaveras-Big Tree Road. Reporting the results of this trip, he remarked, "This route I can recommend as one worthy of the most favorable attention for the location of a road, at a small expense and with great benefit to the immigration of the State."[45]

The William Gamble and Job Taylor Survey

During the month of August, William Gamble and Job. T. Taylor pointed out another route over the Sierras which could be constructed for $5,000. The proposed road was to run from Marysville along the Feather River to Hamilton, in Butte County. Thence it was to pass out the west branch of the North Fork of the Feather River, continuing in a northeasterly direction between the west branch and Butte Creek.

At the source of Butte Creek the highest point between Marysville and Honey Lake was reached and the line was passed through Humbug Valley and Lawson Meadows on the east side of the divide. From this point the route lay across the Iron Hills to the banks of the Susan River. The latter forms an excellent highway to the place where the old Noble's Pass Road crosses it. This is just four miles from Honey Lake.[46]

The Thomas A. Young Survey

The month of August witnessed still another important survey in the struggle for more adequate means of overland communication. During this month, Thomas A. Young, the official surveyor of Placer County, made a survey for a wagon road from the Fork House to Washoe Valley. The Fork House is at the junction of the road from Yankee Jim's and the road from Iowa Hill. From this point, Young, accompanied by David Orr, James Herrick, George Haycock, A. G. Cook, James Gest, and Captain W. C. Gray, set out past Secret Springs House, Canadian Hill, and Robison's Flat. Seventeen miles east of this point they crossed the summit by an easy grade, and without difficulty descended into the canyon of the North Fork of the Middle Fork of the American River. The party then continued out this stream, entered the northwest end of Squaw Valley and thence followed out the Truckee River to Lake Bigler. They passed

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[44] App. to *S. Journal of Calif.*, 8 Sess., (1857), doc. V, 14-18. Partial survey and report of route was previously made by D. B. Scott and A. P. Chapman. Nothing came of it. (*See* Surveyor General's reports of 1856 and 1857.)

[45] App. to *S. Journal of Calif.*, 8 Sess., (1857), doc. V, 21.

[46] *Sacramento Union*, Aug. 25, 1856, 1.

northeast along the shores of this lake, and twelve miles' travel brought them to the eastern summit of the Sierras. For a distance of five miles from this point, they followed a good road into Washoe Valley. Young remarked, "My impression is that the Placer County Emigrant Road can be improved and made a good road with less expense than any other route."[47]

National Wagon Road Legislation

In the meantime, another factor incited Californians to renewed action in behalf of overland communication. The directors of a new stage line, incorporated under the laws of the State of Missouri, met at St. Louis during the last week in January, 1856, to complete their corporate organization. This new enterprise was known as the Missouri and California Overland Mail and Transportation Company. Colonel D. D. Mitchell was elected president of the firm, and committees were appointed to solicit subscriptions for stock, to memorialize Congress upon the subject of a right-of-way, and to seek the opinion and coöperation of the people of California.[48]

Californians favorable to the plan held mass meetings at San Francisco, Sacramento, Marysville, and Placerville.[49] The city of San Francisco forwarded to Congress a petition to which 60,000 names were attached, "praying for a wagon road between the frontiers of the States of Missouri and California."[50] The Legislature of California dispatched a similar memorial to Congress.[51] On May 28, 1856, John B. Weller, the junior Senator from California, presented these petitions with a Bill to provide "for the construction of a military road from some point in the State of Missouri, via Great Salt Lake City, to the Carson Valley settlement, on the frontier of California, and also for the establishment of military posts and sinking wells thereupon."[52] The Senate passed this measure[53] and submitted it to the House of Representatives on June twenty-sixth,[54] but the bill expired with the session. Nevertheless, on July 22, 1856, this Congress was successful in appropriating $50,000 for the construction of a wagon road from Fort Ridgely in Minnesota, to South Pass.[55]

Although petty politics, constitutional considerations and local interests had delayed Federal legislation upon the subject of rapid overland communication for the past eighteen years, the prayers of the people were at last to be realized — if indeed, only in part — for again on February 17, 1857, President Pierce approved an act appropriating $300,000 for the construction of a wagon road from Fort Kearney, via the South Pass of the Rocky Mountains and Great Salt Lake Valley to the eastern boundary of the State of California, near Honey

[47] *Ibid.*, Sept. 17, 1856, 4.
[48] *Sacramento Union*, Sept. 17, 1856, 4.
[49] *Alta California*, March 29, 1856, 2; *Sacramento Union*, March 28, 1856, 1; March 29, 1856, 2; April 2, 1856, 2; April 4, 1856, 2; April 8, 1856, 2.
[50] *Alta California*, April 19, 1856, 2.
[51] *Sacramento Union*, May 1, 1856, 2.
[52] *Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 1 Sess., (1855-56), Pt. I, XXV, 1297.
[53] *Ibid.*, 1485.
[54] *Ibid.*, Pt. II, 1501.
[55] App. to *Cong. Globe, 34 Cong.*, 1 and 2 Sess., XXV, (1855-56), 9.

Lake.[56] This road was to connect with the one between Fort Ridgeley and South Pass.[57] A supplementary appropriation of $200,000 made provision for a road from El Paso to Yuma, and another from Fort Defiance in New Mexico to the Mojave River.[58] The authority for the construction of these roads was vested in the Secretary of the Interior.

Renewed Agitation in California

Immediately, California set about preparing for the speedy construction of roads over the Sierras to conjoin the Government's road. Each interior village of the State zealously desired to become the western terminus of the first Great National Highway. Indeed, the indefiniteness with which Congress had specified that terminus ("to the eastern boundary of California, near Honey Lake") had inspired the inhabitants of each of these localities to hope that the road might pass their way.[59] Every mountain and valley community east and west of the summit vied with its neighbor in an effort to locate that road to its own advantage.

The citizens of Genoa, in the Carson Valley, held a mass meeting on April 25, 1857, to consider and recommend the construction of a wagon road between Carson Valley and California, "by the most feasible route." Committees were formed for the purpose of soliciting financial aid and coöperating with the people of Mokelumne Hill, who had also announced a similar meeting to be held in that town on May second.[60] Winter rains and snow had worked great havoc with the Calaveras-Big Tree Road.

Judge A. C. Baine presided at the latter convention, in which the counties of Tuolumne, San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Calaveras, Amador, Mariposa, Tulare, and Merced were represented.[61] Surveyor General Brewster and J. A. Thompson, the expressman, spoke at length of the relatively superior advantages of the Calaveras-Big Tree Route.[62] It was agreed that $30,000 was sufficient to complete a permanent road over this route, and forthwith a committee of five was appointed to finance the project.[63]

On April twenty-seventh a similar mass meeting had been held at Empire Hall in Shasta. A resolution was adopted favoring the construction of a wagon road via the Noble's Pass route to Honey Lake. A committee of finance was authorized to raise the necessary funds. It was agreed that as soon as $1,000 had been collected the work of construction should be commenced.[64]

On May fourth, five hundred delegates representing Plumas, Butte, Yuba, Colusa, Sierra, and Sutter counties met at Marysville to discuss means for the

[56] App. to *Cong. Globe,* 34 Cong., 3 Sess., (1856-57), XXVI, 401.
[57] *Ibid.,* 34 Cong., 1 and 2 Sess., (1855-56), XXV, 9.
[58] *Ibid.,* 3 Sess., (1856-57), XXVI, 401. The latter route is just north of the one travelled in 1853 by E. F. Beale, Superintendent of Indian Affairs in California.
[59] *Sacramento Union,* May 7, 1857, 1.
[60] *Ibid.,* May 2, 1857, 2.
[61] *Sacramento Union,* April 7, 1857, 2.
[62] *Ibid.,* May 4, 1857, 1.
[63] *Ibid.*
[64] *Ibid.,* May 4, 1857, 2.

construction of a wagon road from Honey Lake, via the route surveyed by John A. Brewster.[65]

On May sixth the citizens of Yankee Jim's called an assembly. The announced purpose of this meeting was "to adopt measures to turn the tide of emigration this way." The route from Placer County to Truckee River, previously surveyed by Thomas A. Young, was favored as the most feasible, and a committee of management was appointed to arrange for the construction of the road.[66]

On April 27, 1857, in compliance with requests from the people of the counties of Sacramento and Eldorado, the youthful Governor J. Neely Johnson approved an Act which authorized the supervisors of those counties to submit to the popular vote a proposition to appropriate $25,000 from the treasury of each county for the construction of a wagon road from Sacramento through Eldorado County to the Carson Valley.[67]

The people consented to the expenditure, and on May eleventh, representatives of the counties of Sacramento, Eldorado, and Yolo met at Sacramento "to take steps for the early construction of a wagon road over the mountains."[68] It was decided that a "collection committee" should be appointed in each county, vested with authority to select sub-committees whose business it should be to solicit extra-legal subscriptions for the enterprise. Twenty thousand dollars were subscribed by Sacramento County, twenty thousand by Eldorado County, and ten thousand by Yolo County. Sherman Day's route was chosen as the most direct and practicable for a road over the Sierra, and a board of prominent citizens was appointed to inspect and report upon the possibilities of the route. Resolutions also were addressed to the Postmaster-General, urging the establishment of a line of mail and stage coaches over the Central Route.[69]

A similar convention of delegates from Butte, Colusa, and Tehama counties met at Oroville on May twenty-third to discuss ways and means of constructing a road to Honey Lake along the route proposed by William Gamble and Job T. Taylor. These counties were unable to raise sufficient funds to complete their project.[70]

Official Inspection of the Marlette-Day Route

On June eleventh the Board of Wagon Roads, appointed at the Sacramento convention, conducted an inspection of the Sherman Day route. Mr. J. B. Crandall, president of the Pioneer Stage Company, agreed to drive the party over the mountains in stage coaches furnished by his company. C. P. Huntington was one of the passengers in the stage driven by Crandall, and Leland Stanford was present at Placerville to wish the directors *bon voyage* and to

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[65] *Ibid.*, May 5, 1857, 2; May 7, 1857, 2.
[66] *Ibid.*, May 9, 1857, 1; May 11, 1857, 2.
[67] *Statutes of California,* 8 Sess., (1857), 272.
[68] *Sacramento Union,* May 8, 1857, 1; May 12, 1857, 2.
[69] *Ibid.*, May 13, 1857, 2.
[70] *Ibid.*, May 11, 1857, 2; May 27, 1857, 2; May 28, 1857, 1.

participate in the celebration in honor of the occasion.[71] A one hundred gun salute was fired as the stages departed.[72]

However, the trip did not appear to be as happy as had been anticipated. In many places the occupants of the coaches were obliged to walk up steep inclines, to remove obstacles from the road, and, in fact, at some places to "get out and push." The reporter who accompanied the party stated that the road was so rough that his head often bumped against the roof of the coach.

The Construction of a Road over the Marlette-Day Route

On January 6, 1858, the boards of supervisors of Eldorado and Sacramento counties held a joint meeting. They amended their county ordinances in such a manner that each county might be assessed to the amount of $25,000, which amount should be expended for the construction of a wagon road as provided by the State law.[73] To insure the provisions of the Wagon Road Act, the State Legislature amended the law on May 8, 1858. The amendment provided for the appointment of a wagon road commission. Two of the members of the commission were selected by the Legislature. They were William B. Carr of Sacramento County and B. T. Hunt of Eldorado County;[74] these men were authorized to choose the third commissioner. They decided upon George Douglas of Eldorado County.[75]

The law required that the commissioners should award the contract for the construction of the road — the route of which should follow as closely as practicable along the Sherman Day survey — to the lowest and most favored bidder. On May thirtieth, Douglas reported that the survey had been completed and thereupon the commissioners advertised for proposals for the construction of the road.[76]

The bidding closed on June twenty-sixth,[77] and on the twenty-ninth the contract was awarded to William M. Cary and A. M. Johnson.[78] They agreed to complete by September 30, 1858, a road from Sacramento through Eldorado County to Carson Valley for $24,500. The bed of the road, it was agreed, should be cleared of all stones, rocks, roots, timber, brush, and other obstructions. The surface, twelve feet wide, was then to be smoothed to permit wagon travel.[79]

The hundred laborers at work on the road by the middle of July made rapid progress,[80] but soon the contractors foresaw that it would be impossible to complete the work according to the specifications, and consequently they were

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[71] *Sacramento Union,* June 10, 1857, 2; June 11, 1857, 2; June 15, 1857, 1 and 2; June 17, 1857, 2; June 19, 1857, 2.
[72] *Alta California,* June 17, 1857, 2.
[73] *Sacramento Union,* Jan. 11, 1858, 2.
[74] *Statutes of California,* 9 Sess., (1858), 50.
[75] *Sacramento Union,* March 18, 1857, 2.
[76] *Sacramento Union,* May 31, 1858, 2.
[77] *Ibid.,* June 29, 1858, 2.
[78] *Ibid.,* Nov. 30, 1858, 2; July 5, 1858, 2.
[79] *Ibid.,* Nov. 30, 1858, 2; July 5, 1858, 2.
[80] *Ibid.,* July 21, 1858, 3.

forced to forfeit the contract.[81] Forthwith on September fifth the sureties of Cary and Johnson took over the contract and assigned it to J. C. Plummer.[82]

The commissioners reported the road over the Sierras completed about November fifteenth, and after inspecting the route, made a favorable report on December second.[83] However, the local government again clashed with the central government, for Eldorado refused to pay her share for the road, stating that, according to the report of George W. Greene, civil engineer, and Benjamin R. Nickerson, the work had not been completed according to the specifications of the contract.[84] Carr, Hunt, and Douglas then conducted another inspection, but found no fault with the road,[85] and after a little grumbling, the counties accepted the second report.

Before this road had been graded and the surface levelled, Crandall, of the Pioneer Stage Company, had been operating stages by the Day route from Placerville, in California, to Genoa, in Carson Valley. He was able, even over the unfinished road, to make this trip in twenty-four hours.[86]

The Coming of the Stage Coach

The road was completed none too soon, for on March twenty-second, the Government had entered into a contract with George Chorpenning to carry the mails weekly, along the Central route between Placerville and Great Salt Lake City.[87] The annual premium for this service was $130,000. Under the provisions of the contract, Charles Newman conducted the first mail westward from Genoa on July 7, 1858,[88] and on July nineteenth, at 11 p. m., the first overland mail arrived in California by the Central route. Mr. Clift, the driver, successfully carried the thirty pounds of mail matter in the first delivery from St. Joseph, Missouri, to Placerville, California, in thirteen days.[89] Clift returned with the first overland mail going east from California by way of the Sherman Day route on July twenty-fourth.

It was hoped that as soon as the contractors had completed grading the Eldorado Road, the trip between Carson Valley and Placerville would be made in a great deal less time than was made by the first mail coach over that route. However, the people were not reluctant to congratulate themselves upon the progress toward rapid transportation which had been made during the last eight years. Indeed, their efforts had definitely demonstrated that a highway over the "terrible" Sierra was both possible and practicable.

Chester Lee White.

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[81] *Ibid.*, Sept. 9, 1858, 2.
[82] *Ibid.*, Dec. 13, 1858, 2.
[83] *Ibid.*, Dec. 3, 1858, 2.
[84] *Ibid.*, Dec. 8, 1858, 2.
[85] *Sacramento Union*, Dec. 13, 1858, 2.
[86] *Ibid.*, June 26, 1858, 2.
[87] *H. Ex. Docs.*, 35 Cong., 2 Sess., (1858-59), XI, (1012), doc. 109, 501.
[88] *Sacramento Union*, July 10, 1858, 2.
[89] *Ibid.*, July 21, 1858, 3.

SPANISH VOYAGES TO THE NORTHWEST COAST IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

CHAPTER IV

THE VOYAGE OF JUAN RODRIGUEZ CABRILLO

As soon as the news of the arrival of Bolaños at the Isla del Marqués reached Mendoza he began preparations for another voyage. The instructions he gave the commander of this expedition have not yet been found, but the general ones must have been like those issued to Lopez de Zuñiga. Conditions had, however, somewhat changed since Bolaños set out. After Coronado returned from the buffalo plains in October, 1541, he sent Garci Lopez de Cárdenas back to Mexico City with an account of his journey. What he had to write to Mendoza about it can be seen in his letter to the Emperor of October 20.[1] While he did not say in this that he intended to return, yet it seems obvious that such was his intention from his statement that it would not be possible to establish a settlement in New Mexico. Cárdenas must have reached Mexico sometime in January, 1542, as it is plain from the general tenor of Mendoza's letter of March 10[2] that he knew that Coronado was expecting to return. Mendoza also now knew very well just about where Coronado was and that there was no longer any possibility, or, for that matter, any need of establishing a communication with his force from some point on the northwest coast. That it was hoped to find the mouth of the Rio de la Señora, as has been explained in a preceding chapter, is apparent from the accounts of the expedition, but that Mendoza really had expectations that Cabrillo would succeed in doing so, is another matter. If we may credit the evidence submitted in 1560 in the *Informacion,* it was also hoped to reach China by following the coast. This was perhaps the case, as the idea was a favorite one during the century.

In spite of the positive statements of Lázaro de Cárdenas and Francisco de Vargas, two of the witnesses in the investigation in 1560, that three ships were sent, one of which belonged to Cabrillo, even a brigantine being mentioned, the accounts of the expedition show no trace of more than two. Two good seaworthy vessels were really all that were now required. Herrera even definitely states that there were but two, the *San Salvador,* the *Capitana,* and the *Victoria.* The latter was evidently a small open vessel, but whether the *San Salvador* was one of Alvarado's three galleons of over two hundred tons each, or one of his seven one hundred ton ships, and was really Cabrillo's, is not stated. Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, Alvarado's *almirante,* was placed in charge of the little fleet.[3] Bartolomé Ferrer, a Levantine,[4] was chief pilot, and Lorenzo Hernandez, a Corsican,[5] the other pilot. Antonio Correa[6] and Gerónimo de San Roman[7] were the masters. The ships were well fitted out, perhaps supplied with food for three years, and a chaplain accompanied them.[8]

We have already seen that Cabrillo had come to Santiago with Alvarado. According to Herrera he was a Portuguese, and although in the *repartimiento* made to him in 1536 by Alvarado as a settler in the new town of Gracias a

Dios,[9] he is not mentioned as such, while others are so designated, yet his son's failure to produce any evidence regarding his birth or his services previous to his coming to Mexico, indicates plainly enough that such was the case. He had originally come to New Spain in 1520 as a soldier in the expedition of Pánfilo de Narvaez. As a commander of a company of cross-bowmen he joined Cortés in his campaign against the City of Mexico, like other members of the Narvaez force, and accompanied Captain Francisco de Orozco on his expedition to Oaxaca after being present at the capture of the city. Later he went to Guatemala, probably with Alvarado. Here he rendered important services for which he was rewarded with several *encomiendas,* notably that of Coban in Vera Paz. It was later asserted that when he left Guatemala with Alvarado those he possessed gave a total rental of about twelve thousand pesos per year. Much testimony was afterwards given to the effect that he had spent all his money in Alvarado's enterprise. Besides this, no sooner did he leave Guatemala than Cueva, the acting governor, took away from him his *encomiendas* for some reason which does not appear. His family was left very poor; in fact, one of the witnesses declared that they were living in a straw house. His wife's name was Beatriz de Ortega, and after his death she married a man by the name of Juan de Aguilar. As nearly as can be made out from the *Informacion,* he had two sons, one of the same name as himself, and perhaps some daughters.[10]

It is greatly to be regretted that a full account of the expedition has not survived. Those published herewith are nothing but summaries of one or more, with most of the interesting details, or at least such as would be more interesting to us, eliminated. Two facts stand out prominently, however, which give us a plain indication of the objects Cabrillo had in view besides merely taking possession of the country. One is a continued reference to the Indians and the other the search for a river. Whether Cabrillo's interest in the Indians was the pious one set out in the instructions to Lopez de Zúñiga, or was due to his effort to find some who showed signs of civilization and who therefore might possibly possess some gold or treasure, is not apparent from the narrative, but as no mention is made that any of those he met evinced any aptitude for receiving the Christian faith, the intention of Christianizing them must have been very slight if any even existed. The *auri sacra fames* was still too strong to allow room for anything of such an altruistic nature.

The search for the river to which Herrera even gave a name, "La Señora," is obvious. This began when they were on the Santa Barbara Channel in a latitude of just a little less than 36° according to their calculations. The Indians explained by signs that there was one farther on, and as that was to the north it seems probable that they referred to the Santa Inez River or to the Santa Maria, neither of which carries much water except in the rainy season. As soon as Cabrillo managed to double Point Conception he began to look for this river. Manifestly, neither of those just mentioned bore any resemblance to what he was seeking, although the valley of the Santa Maria seen from a

distance shows some indication of containing a large one. Whatever he saw, however, was unsatisfactory, so he went on and did not see another place where one might be looked for until he was coming back from the north after having been obliged by a storm to stand off from the coast. When he reached what he thought was full 39° he found what from the description cannot possibly be any other than the Salinas River and its valley opening out from Monterey Bay. When seen from the neighborhood of Point Año Nuevo or even from Santa Cruz, no land can be seen between the hills enclosing this valley. It certainly has a striking resemblance to an arm of the sea, the Monterey Peninsula and the mountains behind it looking like an island. The Salinas River is of course too small, as Cabrillo soon discovered, to meet the conditions demanded by the Rio de la Señora, if the reasoning adopted by the writer on this subject in a former chapter is sound.

Cabrillo set sail from Navidad June 27, 1542, and in spite of continued contrary winds from the northwest finally succeeded in reaching Point Arena on the northwest coast in lat. 38° 57′. As far as can be made out from the narratives, nothing was seen of the coast beyond except what was visible when they were off that point. Twice they reached a higher latitude, but they were far enough at sea to be out of the sight of land. The highest observation made was 43°, which can be corrected to 41°, as there was undoubtedly an error of two degrees in their observations in these high latitudes. During one of the storms experienced they thought they had gone up one degree more, and thus it came to be an accepted fact that the expedition had reached 44°; some even placed it as high as 45°. Possession was taken of the country in several different places, the first at a bay called "Posesion," north of Cabo Engaño, which point Ulloa was evidently supposed to have reached. Only one of these is recorded in Upper California, that at the Pueblo de las Canoas, but the name "Posesion" first given San Miguel Island indicates that possession was also taken there. It was also intended to do so in the Bahia de los Pinos but the surf proved too heavy to allow a landing to be made. On the second voyage to the north the coast was examined north of Point Reyes without seeing anything but mountains, but when at sea in what they thought was 43°, some drift logs were encountered, from which it was concluded that a large river emptied into the ocean somewhere near them. Assuming that they were in about 41° at the time, they were about opposite the mouth of Eel River or of Mad River, both of which in the rainy season, then in full force, bring down large quantities of driftwood.

When the ships returned Mendoza sent them to Peru. He was expecting news from Villalobos and contemplated either sending aid to him or setting on foot a new expedition to the Moluccas. In order to provide occupation for the returned sailors, as they were difficult to keep in the country, he gave them permission to take three ships and agreed to supply enough mares and colts of his own to make up any deficiency in cargo there might be after they had secured from others all the freight possible. At least one of these ships was

captured by Hernando Machicao at Tumbez, and Mendoza claimed to have lost thereby twelve of his horses and all the food and equipment he had provided for the ships.[11]

The account of the voyage is chiefly interesting as containing the first known description of the coast of Upper California and its inhabitants. Cabrillo came in contact with the natives at San Diego, Santa Catalina Island and on the Santa Barbara Channel. Very little is said about those of the two former places, but the somewhat superior state of civilization of the Indians on the channel evidently attracted his attention, or that of the person who made the summary. These Indians, known as Chumash, occupied that part of the coast which extends from the northern part of Santa Monica Bay to or nearly to the Bay of San Luis Obispo, but their settlements were most numerous along the shores of the Santa Barbara Channel proper. It may be truthfully said that not much more is known about the Chumash than what can be read in the pages of this narrative and in the accounts of Sebastian Vizcaino's voyage. When the Franciscan missionaries came to California in 1769 they also recognized that the intelligence and standard of living of these Indians were superior to those of others in California they had seen, and very shortly began founding missions among them. The effect of these was extremely disastrous to the Indians, who died off with great rapidity, so that at the time of the American occupation, hardly any were left. None of the missionaries among them seems to have thought it worth while to leave a detailed description of them and their customs, and what little is known of them is largely derived from the accounts of visitors, and that little is on the whole very much like what Cabrillo and Vizcaino said about them.

One of the curious things in Cabrillo's narrative is the trouble he took to give the names of Indian villages on the Santa Barbara Channel. When the text of the narrative became available in Buckingham Smith's *Coleccion,* those in California interested in the subject began to speculate about the identification of these towns. Many of the Spanish ranches in that neighborhood had Indian names and thus quite a collection of Chumash place-names was made. Alexander S. Taylor published an article attempting to trace the connection between some of these and Cabrillo's names.[12] Recently Dr. A. L. Kroeber has continued the investigation.[13] His conclusion is that Cabrillo's names do not represent any consistent geographical order. Like many other writers, Dr. Kroeber was misled by the error in the use of the name "San Salvador" for "San Sebastian." Altogether, the known facts seem too few to make identifications with any degree of accuracy except in a few cases, so few in fact, that it is not worth while to recapitulate the results.

Our main interest lies in identifying, if possible, the Pueblo de las Canoas, which Cabrillo says was called "Xucu." Dr. Kroeber thinks this name to be the same as "Shuku," that of a town at Rincon, while beginning with Taylor and H. W. Henshaw, a host of investigators and writers have asserted that the Pueblo was at or near Ventura. The location at Rincon does not meet the

topographical conditions ascertainable from the narrative in any respect, and Ventura only does so partially. The latter place is about sixty miles from Point Conception, whereas Cabrillo places the distance from the Pueblo to Cabo de Galera at thirty leagues. This would allow only two miles to his league if the Pueblo had been at Ventura. Furthermore, Ventura is in 34° 30′, so that if the Pueblo were there Cabrillo's location as in 35° 20′ was only fifty minutes too high—too little, considering his errors farther north and even for a long distance south. We must then look for the Pueblo farther south, just east of Point Mugu, where the immense valley of the Santa Clara with the high range beyond begins to come into view, when approaching it as Cabrillo did from the south. Here large Chumash towns were located, the southernmost of the tribe,[14] unless perhaps the one said to have been at the mouth of Malibu Canyon on Santa Monica Bay was then in existence.[15] The latitude of Mugu Lagoon, about 34° 5′, corresponds better to that ascribed to the Pueblo by Cabrillo, as the error is then 1° 15′. Certainly Cabrillo did not sail by these Mugu towns without stopping to see what manner of men lived in the first habitations seen which resembled houses. Another indication that the Pueblo was in that neighborhood is his reference to seeing the islands after leaving it and not before reaching it, and the distance to it from San Lucas Island, that is, Santa Rosa, which he estimated as eighteen leagues.

The identifications of places on the coast named by Cabrillo north of Point Conception are so well established and fortified by such good authority that to attempt to upset them seems a somewhat useless task. Nevertheless, the writer is convinced that they are almost all erroneous. It is not probable that Dr. H. E. Bolton, the most recent commentator on the voyage, conducted any independent investigation of the matter.[16] He was apparently satisfied with those adopted by Professor Davidson as being the result of a careful examination by a man thoroughly competent in the premises. That Professor Davidson was thoroughly competent in many respects is certain, but he was misled by his lack of knowledge of the real meaning of Spanish geographical names, and besides, failed to follow a logical and consistent course in regard to Cabrillo's errors in his observations of latitude.[17]

The words used by Cabrillo, which are important in this connection, are *cabo* and *punta*. These are almost invariably translated as "cape" and "point," words interchangeable in the English language. With Cabrillo, however, the word *cabo* meant the end of the land, that is to say, a *cabo* marked a change in the general direction of the coast, or a change in its general character. His *puntas* were simply points projecting into the sea and had, so far as we can identify them from the narrative, none of the characteristics just mentioned of *cabos*. So few geographical names were applied by him on the coast of Upper California that this distinction is not very marked, but that he had it in mind in applying names north of Point Conception may be reasonably assumed from this rule which he pursued there and farther south. No better example can be cited than his name "Cabo de Galera" for what is now termed "Point Conception."

The errors in Cabrillo's observations of latitude were not peculiar to him; similar errors can be discovered in the accounts of other early voyages. So far as the writer has investigated such accounts, the latitudes in the northern hemisphere were invariably placed too high. This arose undoubtedly, not so much from a defect in the instruments in use, as from errors in the tables of declination of the sun. Furthermore, the higher the latitude, the greater was the error as a rule. In other words, there was an increase in error as northing was obtained. This is particularly noticeable in the accounts of this voyage. In the latter part of the century some correction must have been made in the tables, as the errors then become demonstrably smaller, although the latitudes are still too high. By comparing Cabrillo's latitudes attributed to known points with their known locations, it will be seen that at Punta Tosco his observation was already 43′ too high. At Todos Santos his error had increased to 1° 28′ and at San Diego to 1° 40′. At Point Conception, the place farthest north which can be identified without question, his observation was also at least 1° 33′ too high. It thus seems reasonable to suppose that north of that point the errors still continued to increase, and if we concede that Herrera's Cabo de Fortunas was Point Arena, there was an error there of 2°—just what might be reasonably expected from the preceding rate of progression. It is true that between San Diego and Point Conception Cabrillo's observations show a smaller error than 1° 40′. Just how to account for this is not easy, but it may have been due to the fact that in his observation at San Diego there was an additional error to that contained in his tables.

In the narrative only six names are found north of Point Conception. These, with the latitudes assigned to them are: The Sierras de San Martin in 37½°, the Cabo de San Martin in 38° (later 37½°), the Cabo de Nieve in 38° 40′, the Bahia de los Pinos in full 39°, the Cabo de Pinos in 40°, and the Sierras Nevadas, the northern extremity of which was the Cabo de Nieve. Herrera gives the same names and the same latitudes except that he gives none to the Bahia de los Pinos. He mentions another, the Cabo de Fortunas, in 41°, not found in the narrative, although the point is described. The only latitude given by Gómara is 40°, which he ascribes to the Sierras Nevadas, stating that they were the country farthest north marked out. In the notes to the translation these places have been identified as follows: The Santa Lucia Mountains (that part which extends roughly from near San Luis Obispo to Cape San Martin); Cape San Martin in 35° 54′, or Point Piedras Blancas in 35° 40′; Point Cypress in 36° 45′; Santa Cruz Harbor in 36° 57′, and Point Reyes in 38°. The Sierras Nevadas were the northern part of the Santa Lucia Mountains and Cabo de Fortunas was Point Arena in 38° 57′. By comparing these latitudes with those given by Cabrillo we find that the difference is about two degrees. What he meant by changing that ascribed to Cabo San Martin from 38° to 37½° can only be surmised; the most likely reason is that on his way south, at which time the latitude was changed, he concluded that Point Piedras Blancas was more of a *cabo* than Cape San Martin, as indeed is the case, the latter being in reality only a *punta*.

The identifications here submitted also accord much better with the topographical indications contained in the narrative than those usually adopted. Cabo de Nieve was unquestionably the northern extremity of the Sierras Nevadas, as Cabo San Martin was the southern, and as Point Carmel is in no sense a *cabo,* while Point Cypress is, and the mountains actually run out at the north at Point Cypress, this must have been Cabrillo's Cabo de Nieve. He does not say that there was any snow on it but merely that it was the end of the snow mountains. In spite of Gómara's statement about the Sierras Nevadas, the narrative leaves no room for argument as to their location. They were not the farthest north. The narrative contains a reference to snow covered mountains seen when near Cabo de Pinos, November 15. The cartographers may have applied the name "Sierras Nevadas" to these, forgetful of the fact that Cabrillo himself had given the same name to another range farther south. The identification of Cabo de Pinos as Point Reyes at once brings up the objection that the point had no pine trees on it so far as known. In this respect, however, one has to choose between accepting the Cabo de Pinos as a point without pines or the Bahia de los Pinos as a bay without pines. Professor Davidson's identification of the latter as Drake's Bay is open to this objection. The bay has no pines and had none in 1595. A still greater objection, however, is the latitude, 38°, of Drake's Bay, because if it were the Bahia de los Pinos, which Cabrillo said was in full 39°, his error would have been only a full 1°, less than any recorded north of Todos Santos in Lower California. Having made this identification, Professor Davidson was obliged to move Cabo de Pinos up to what he called Northwest Cape near Fort Ross in 38° 31′, and Cabo de Fortunas up to Cape Mendocino in 40° 26′, positions which are both entirely untenable. Northwest Cape, as he calls it, is not a *cabo,* it is hardly even a *punta.* Cape Mendocino conforms in no respect to the description given to Cabo de Fortunas. Furthermore, Cabrillo's error would have been only 34′, the smallest discernible error in the narrative, if this identification be accepted.[18]

The writer believes that the Bahia de los Pinos was without question the northern part of Monterey Bay. That part was almost certainly covered with trees at the time. The depth of water in which the ship was anchored close to the coast can only be found off Moss Landing in the submarine valley which extends out into the ocean in that bay. As previously pointed out, Cabrillo's remarks about a river are almost conclusive evidence that he was anchored here. There is no place farther north where one, looking from the ocean, could say that there was any sign of a great river which did not exist.[19] Finally, if we take the *cabos* named by Cabrillo: Cabo de San Martin, Cabo de Nieve, Cabo de Pinos and Cabo de Fortunas, we find that they were true *cabos* in his use of the word, once they are identified as Point Piedras Blancas, Cypress Point, Point Reyes and Point Arena. Point Reyes is the most conspicuous point on a long stretch of coast and so was Cabrillo's Cabo de Pinos.

Not only were the observations for latitude made by Cabrillo in error, but

also his calculations of longitude. These naturally were not the result of observations, but were made up from the courses and the distances run. It is apparent that the general idea was that his discoveries extended upward from Cabo San Lucas in a northwest or a west-northwest direction. This can be seen on Gómara's map (Plate III), and also, to a certain extent, on that of Gastaldi published by Ramusio (Plate IV). The latter only is graduated, showing a difference in longitude of some twenty degrees between Cabo San Lucas and the Sierra Nevadas in about 40°. As the actual difference is only about fourteen degrees, this is a rather large error considering that the difference in latitude is not more than eighteen degrees. From remarks made in 1565 by Rodrigo de Espinosa in his log of the *San Pedro,* it seems probable that the maps the ship was carrying did not agree on this point, as might naturally be expected from the working up of Cabrillo's log by different cosmographers.

It must be a matter of regret to everyone that there is nothing to commemorate Cabrillo's visit to the coast, not even a geographical name, except Cape San Martin applied in recent years. Located anywhere between 40° and 50° and in the relative position near the coast assigned to them by Gómara, the Sierras Nevadas were shown on maps for a long time. Even after the capes, bays, ports and mountains had been renamed by Vizcaino, this name was frequently selected from old maps and appeared near the coast together with Vizcaino's names. It was still there in the eighteenth century when the Spaniards began to make land explorations in California. Whether the name was transferred by them to the snowy range now known as the "Sierra Nevada" or this was baptized anew is uncertain. If they adopted his name it would seem to be the irony of fate that it is now applied to a range of mountains which he never saw.

A facsimile of the original account of Cabrillo's voyage in the Archivo de Indias is herewith reproduced, with a translation following.

1542 paralelo de 1543 desde grados. Nauegacion del mar del sur al Norte

Partio juan rodriguez del puerto de nauidad para descubrir la costa dela nueua españa
a xxviij dias de junio de mil.D.xl.j.

Anduuo desde el puerto de nauidad hasta cabo de corriente vn dia y vna noche. yran en
leguas sobre nordueste

1542 julio

Desde el miercoles hasta el sauado siguiente anduuieron sin dexar tierra a luengo dela costa, 35. l

Domingo a vno dias de julio tuuieron vista dela california. tardaron en atrauesar y d
amor delos tres que hizieron muy fauorables casi 4 / dias. vinieron el lunes siguiente a
del dho cabo punta dela california. y estuuieron dos dias. y dexaron al puerto de s
lucas el sauado siguiente. y tomaron agua, no vieron estos dias yndio ninguno. dizen q este
puerto en .23. grados. y es desde la punta al puerto limpio y fondable yes tierra pela
y doblada /

Partieron del puerto de s.n lucas el sauado a la noche y el sauado siguiente. a ocho del dho mes
pieron la punta dela trinidad que esta en 25. grados. aura de s.n lucas .5. leguas.
esta limpia sin restinga ninguna, dentro en la tierra parescen sierras altas y pela
y dobladas. estuuieron surtos aqui por ser los tiempos contrarios de oest nordeste hasta el mier
siguiente /

Miercoles a .12. dias del dho mes partieron de ay / el puerto dela trinidad hasta puerto y n
y sla y este ay y es buen puerto a todas partes para los vientos sues nordestes. el puerto es la cos
cabeça dela y sla dela banda del sueste y es puerto limpio y fondable no tiene agua ni leña
, tierra la y sla diez leguas de longitud y de latitud /2/ leguas. surgieron esa noche /

Partieron el sauado siguiente. y passaron por el puerto de sant juste en. 24. grados y $\frac{1}{2}$ este
puerto no ay agua ni leña. su trabesia es sueste. tiene buen reparo para ponientes. fue
nabegando por la costa y haze vna gran ensenada. el cabo dela qual esta en. 26. grados.
tierra baxa y medanos de arena. esta llana y limpia, fueron nabegando a luengo de
con buen tiempo bonancibles hasta los. 27. grados y medio. a .19. del dho mes fueron en tie
a puerto y hallaron. 6 salidas en tierra hallaron vn camino seguido de venados. y fueron
el rostro de arrubia donde hallaron vna fuente de agua. es tierra llana de tro y pelada y
seca pusieron nombre el puerto dela madalena. aura. 40. leguas dela baya de san miguel hasta
este puerto /

El sauado siguiente .20. del dho partieron deste puerto y fueron nabegando a luengo
costa con vientos nordestes. y obra de seis leguas de alli allaron vn surgidero de tres br
punta que llaman punta de santa catalina y assi anduuieron nabegando a luengo dela
y el martes siguiente .25. del dho mes de julio descubrieron vna bahia grande en .27
dos y $\frac{1}{2}$. caminaron muy poco estos dias por los muchos tiempos. surgieron en este p
y pusieron nombre el puerto de santa ana. aura del puerto dela madalena. 23. leguas,
dela punta de santiago en cima leguas ay dos bahias muy peligrosas y despeña
quando ay viento la mar entra. y son muy largas de tierra yen .27. grados y
llamanse abre ojo, fueron caminando por la misma derrota a luengo dela costa hasta
.28. grados y alli surgieron al abrigo de vna punta. aqui ay arboledas la gente

desde la punta dela california, ahun ista punta al puerto ~~al puerto~~ de santiago ala punta del nornoeste. 23. leguas. son sierras altas y esfragosas con algun arboledo. ~~[illegible]~~ santana tiene vna ysleta obra de vna legua de tierra /

1542

Juebes @ 27. del dho partieron del dho puerto de santana y fueron a surgir robra de seys leguas de alli en vn puerto q pusieron nombre puerto fondo por el mucho fondo que tenia. q junto a tierra habia treynta brazas es limpio, y partieron el lotro dia siguiente del dho puerto y tornaron a arribar tres vezes al dicho puerto con tiempos contrarios y estubieron el dho puerto hasta el lunes siguiente /

Lunes a 31 del dhomes partieron del dho puerto fondo y surgieron robra de ocho leguas de alli aquella noche y lotro partieron a su nabegacion /

Martes primero dia de agosto partieron de alli y andubieron robra de diez leguas donde surgieron en vn puerto q pusieron sanct vincula, esta este puerto vabista dela ysla de cedros. este este puerto en 28 grados y medio largos es tierra alta y esfragossa y pelada, desde california aca no hemos visto yndio ninguno /

Miercoles a dos del dhomes partieron de este puerto y les dio viento contrario y andubieron bolteando, fueron a surgir @ vna ysla que esta delaparte del sueste de ysla de cedros quatro leguas della, / y esta, es tendra y sta q llamaron sant esteban con la xuamate dela punta dela tierra firme. este oeste esta de nornoeste sueste, esta vna legua dela tierra firme / desta punta la tierra firme buelue la costa hazia les nordeste y haze vna ensenada grande que no parece tierra entre la ysla dela tierra firme, aze buena canal y han de pasar a lespalda de la ysla porque ay vna xestiga debaxo q sale delapunta hasta vn quarto de legua, ay mucha y gruesa sobre agua que se cria del fondo y estapegado a barco, arrese desta ysla con sanct vincula. nornoeste sueste, terna esta ysla tres leguas de xuandeo. estubimos en este ysla con viento contrario hasta el sabado siguiente. a cinco del dhomes de agosto tuemos buen puerto dela vanda del sueste, ay muchas pesqueria de anuelo y muchos pargos

Partieron dela ysla de sant esteban sabado a cinco de agosto y fueron a surgir a ysla de cedros donde estubieron hasta juebes a diez del dhomes tomando aguada y lenia, no hallaron yndios @ vn rio que hallaron xuadrado dellos, hasta esta ysla en 29. grados la punta de sotabento dela vanda del sur, y tiene esta vanda del sur buenos puertos. agua y lenia y esta parte pelada que no tiene sino vnas maticas pequenas es ysla grande y alta y pelada y arrese cassi leste oeste y torna de longitud esta vanda del sur. doze leguas /

Partieron de ysla de cedros juebes a diez dias del dhomes de agosto para seguir su viage y fueron la buelta dela tierra firme nauegando al norte andubieron este dia robra de diez leguas y el viernes siguiente fueron a surgir @ vn puerto y le llamaron puerto de santa cruz es buen puerto fueron en tierra y hallaron quatro yndios. los quales se huyeron. esta este puerto en 30. grados escasos. correse con ysla de cedros. nornoeste sudsueste, y arrese esten costa de el puerto hazia la ensenada, nor nornoeste. sursueste, es costa limpia y fondable, es tierra pelada y no es fragossa tiene llanuras y valles. estubieron en este puerto hasta el domingo @ 13. del dhomes por los xuines bientos /

Domingo @ 13. dias del dhomes partieron deste puerto y fueron nauegando a lo largo dela costa con bientos escasos surgiendo cada noche, y el martes siguiente surgieron en vna punta que haze vna ensenada que esta en 30. grados y medio, tiene muy poco xuguao, llamaronle punta delmal abrigo /

agosto. — ✓ el miercoles siguiente fueron nabegando a luengo dela costa y dioles mucho viento nornoroeste
q̃ hera su contrario y estubieron al resguardo dla noche sin ganar para adelante nada y
jueves siguiente andubieron con agua cerca y contrastes é calmas q̃ no tomaron la tierra y
noche siguiente tubieron mucho viento de nor noroeste q̃ estubieron al resguardo y el
siguiente andubieron con buenos nortes y se alargaron a barlovento de la punta de
abrijo. serán leguas dessi andubieron hasta el sabado siguiente a 19. del dho mes que
ron en una y la pequeña. q̃ esta media legua de tierra firme, esta diez leguas de
punta de mal abrijo, esta en. 30. grados y 2/3. y tiene buen surgidero y buen res
, llamaron la sant bernardo. tiene una legua de norte sur. corre la costa dela tierra
firme. nor noroeste sursuroeste. y es costa limpia, la tierra adentro es de muy buen pa
y llana y ay buenos é algunos arboledas y lo otro es pelado. no allaron esto
dias señal de yndios.

✓ domingo a. 20 del dho mes de agosto partieron dela y sla de san bernardo y allegaron a
punta del engaño q̃ estara siete leguas desta y sla. la qual punta esta en. 31. grados
corre la costa dela punta. hazia la y sla nor noroeste. sursueste. la punta del engaño
tierra no es alta. y parece ansi buena tierra y llana. tiene sierras empeladas. no
señal de yndios. é assi fueron nabegando hasta el lunes siguiente, siguiendo la costa a
norte. é al noroeste. é obra de diez leguas de la punta del engaño. descubrieron
un buen puerto el qual surgieron y tomaron agua de una, esta en. 31. grados y m
puerto para poder hazer qualquier adobio y los navios poniendolos amonte,

✓ el martes siguiente. 24 de dho mes. juan rodriguez cabrillo fue en tierra y tomo posesion en
nombre de su magd y del illmo señor don antonio de mendoça. y le puso nombre
pueblo dela posesion, allo una laguna que tiene tres grandes y allaron
yndios pescadores que luego huyeron, tomaron vno dellos al qual dandole cuentas
le soltaron e se fue, la tierra adentro es tierra alta y doblada é tiene buenos
valles. parece ser buena tierra q̃ unas es pelada. estubieron en esta tierra
hasta el domingo a. 27. del dho mes adobando las velas y haziendo aguada y
vieron ciertos vmos y fueron alla con el batel. allaron rolda de treynta yndios
pescadores los quales estubieron que dos y truxeron al navio un mucho pescado y
a los quales dieron de vestir é rescates y los de xaron yr. de los quales no pudieron
entender nada por señas.

✓ viernes siguiente. yendo a tomar agua allaron en la aguada ciertos yndios q̃ estubieron
quedos é les amostraron un arroyuelo de agua é una salina de sal q̃ habia mu
y dixeron por señas q̃ no hazian su abitacion allí sino dentro en la tierra é q̃ habia
mucha gente, este dicho dia en la tarde vinieron cinco yndios a la playa a los quales tru
a los navios - y parecieron ser yndios de razon. y estando el navio señalaron y con trax
los españoles que estaban ay, y señalaron que habian visto otros tales como ell
que traian barbas y q̃ traian perros y vallestas y espadas, venian los yndios vn
con un betumen blanco por los muslos y cuerpo y brazos - y traian amanera de cuchi
puesto el braço parecian hombres en calças é jubon acuchillado y señalaron
q̃ a cinco jornadas de allí estaban los españoles, señalaron que habia muchos pue
é traian mucho maiz é papagayos, venian subiendo en cuero de venados y
traian los cueros de venados adobados a manera de como estan los mexicanos

Cosqueros que traen Glas cutanas. es ẽte crecida y ãcõsta tra on sus arcos y flechas
amolos dela nueba españa. on sus pe dernales las flechas, diolas. el cap an una carta
para que llebasen alos españõles que dezian que hauia dentro Gla tierra /

v partieron desde puesto delaposesion domingo a 27. del dho mes de agosto y nabegando su
derrota hallaron una ysla dos leguas de tierra firme. es deshabitada. haze buen puerto
enella, pusieron le nombre san agustin tenia dos leguas de rredondez y andubieron asi luango
dela costa con tiempos escasos barloventeando hasta el miercoles siguiente a 30. del
dichomes, quales dio muchobiento de nozueste que les hizo arribar ala ysla de san agustin
, enesta ysla hallaron unastro de sesenta e dos cuernos de baca. e arboles muy grandes que hauia
hechado alli la mar q tenian de longor mas de sesenta pies y de gordor gruesa podran abarcar
dos hombres a cada uno, parescian ariperes. e auia cedros. hera mucha la cantidad de
esta madera, no tiene otra cosa si buen puerto tiene esta ysla. estubieron enesta ysla
hasta el domingo siguiente /

v domingo a tres dias del mes de sete partieron dela dha ysla de san agustin e fueron
nabegando su derrota y el lunes siguiente sugieron Gla tierra cosa de siete leguas
abarloventa. en costa de norte sur. de luego fueron su derrota. e fueron nabegando
con tiempos bonancibles y escasos en costa de norte sur. hasta el jueves a siete dias
del dho mes de sete q fueron a surgir en una ensenada q haze la tierra e aqui se
acaba la costa de norte sur. e buelue al nozueste. enesta ensenada haze un valle
grande y es tierra llana ala costa. e dentro ay sierras altas e tierra doblada
al parescer buena, toda la costa es braba. e aspera selada q media legua de tierra estauan
en diez brazas surtos. ay por aqui muchas y orbas q estan sobre el agua /

v el viernes siguiente a ocho del dho mes andubieron con bientos escasos barloventeando
y allaron aqui pozzientes con traias. fueron a surgir a una punta q haze cabo
, e hez e buen abrigo delos nozueste, pusieron le nombre el cabo de san. m. haze
rremate de tierra de una parte e de otra, aqui hazen rremate unas sierras altas
que vienen de tras y comiencan rotras sierras pequenas, haze un valle grande de rotura
muchos alparescer. es buena tierra, esta en. 32. grados y medio y es puerto limpio
e fondable. anze se ansla ysla de san agustin. norte sur. /

v estando enese cabo de san min fueron en tierra por agua e hallaron una laguna
pequena de agua dulce donde tomaron agua. y enesta aguada bineron quarenta
yndios con sus arcos e flechas. no pudieron entender con ellos, venian desnudos
trayan mahuey asado para comer e pescado, es gente crecida. aqui tomaron
posesion. estubieron enese cabo hasta el lunes siguiente /

v lunes a ocho del dho mes partieron del cabo de san. m. y nabegaron con rrobia de quatro
leguas. por costa de nor nordeste sudueste. y alli buelue la costa al nozueste. es tierra
alta y pelada y el otro dia siguiente. nabegaron con costa de nozueste sueste rrobia de seis
leguas. toda esta costa es braba y limpia y el otro dia siguiente. tambien nabegaron
con rrumbo de sueste rrobia de quatro leguas en costa de nozueste sueste. en tierra ay sierras
altas y espantosas y el jueves siguiente surgieron rrobia de tres leguas adelante en
una punta que sale ala mar q haze cabo de una banda. e de otra. llamase cabo de
. t. estan. 33. grados. no ay agua ni lena ni allaron señal de ynd[illegible]

Set

Partydos del cabo de la cruz hallaron se elsabado siguiente dos leguas del cabo de
. t . por los vezinos tiempos en costa de nor noruestes / suestes . y en tierra bien or
yndios en vnas canoas muy pequeñas . la tierra es muy alta . e pelada . seca to
tierra desde la california , aquies tierra de arenales a la mar y de aqui adelante
la tierra de otra parte que es tierra de bermejales y de mesa parescen

Domingo a .17. dias del dho mes anduvieron nabegando para seguir subiase . y obra
seis leguas del cabo de cruz . t . allaron vn puerto bueno y cerrado . y para llegar alla
ron por vna ysleta q esta cerca de la tierra firme , en este puerto tomaron ag
en vna lagunilla de agua llobediza . y ay arboledas como de ceybas . e cepto que es
vrezia . hallaron madera que pruevas grandes q traya la mar . llamase este pue
san mateo : es buena tierra al parescer , ay grandes cabanas . el ayerba como la
espana . y es tierra alta y doblada , vieron vnas manadas de animales como gana
que andaban de a ciento en ciento . e mas . que parescian al parescer y el andar como
jas del pizu y la lana luenga . tienen que unos pequeños de vn xeme en tiempo
tumpor dos como el dedo pulgar y la cola ancha y redonda . e de longor de vn pal
, esta en . 33 . grados y tercio . tomaron posesion del , e estubieron en este puerto hasta
el sabado siguiente .

Sabado . a .27. del dicho mes partieron del dho puerto de san mateo y nabegaron a lue
de la costa hasta el lunes siguiente . y andarian cobia de diez e ocho leguas . vieron muc
fermosos valles e arboledas e tierra llana y poblada y no se vieron yndios

El martes siguiente y el miercoles nabegaron a luengo de la costa cobia de ocho leguas
pasaron por vnas tres y islas pobladas de tierra dellos la vna dellos es mayor y la
y tierna dos leguas de compliendo . e caen abrigo de los poniente . estan tres leguas de
firme . estan . en treynta e quatro grados . este dia se vieron en tierra grande mu
, es tierra buena al parescer . e de grandes valles . e dentro de la tierra ay sierra
altas llamaron las islas de sierras .

El lucbes siguiente anduvieron cobia de seys leguas por costa de nor noruestes y sues
vn buen puerto cerrado e muy bueno a igual pusieron nombre san miguel . esta en
grados y tercio y despues de surtos en el fueron en tierra y hallaron sente . de los que la
esperaron tres e todos los otros se huyeron . a estos dieron algunos rescates y
por senas . por dentro de la tierra habian pasado sente como los españoles . anos
tenen mucho miedo . este dicho dia a la noche fueron de los navios en tierra
con vn chinchorro e parescio que estaban ay algunos yndios y començaron los a
y hirieron tres hombres .

Otro dia por la mañana entraron mas adentro del puerto que es grande en el
y truxeron dos muchachos los quales no entendian nada por senas y dieron los sen
camisas e enbiaron los luego .

Y el otro dia siguiente por la mañana vinieron a las naos tres yndios grandes y por sena
dixeron que andaban por la tierra adentro hombres como nosotros barbados
e armados como los de los navios y senalaban que llebauan vallestas y espadas y haz
ademanes con el braco derecho como que alançeaban y andaban corriendo como guay
a caballo y que mataban muchos yndios de los naturales y que por esto tenian mie

esta fuente es bien dispuesta y crescida, andan cubiertos con pieles de animales, estando
en este puerto passo un temporal muy grande. en poco pa ser bueno el puerto no sintie
ron nada, fue de este sudueste, é su sudueste. tiempo derecho este es el primer
temporal que han passado. estubieron en este puerto hasta el martes siguiente, a que
llamaban alos xpianos quacamal/

V martes siguiente a tres dias del mes de octubre partieron deste puerto desan miguel
y el miercoles y jueves y viernes caminaron por su derrota cobria de diez. ocho leguas
al cuerpo de la costa por donde vian muchos valles de llanura y muchas aumadas y
dentro de la tierra sierras, fueron a anochecer junto a unas islas que estan de tierra
firme cobria de siete leguas y porque calmo el viento no pudieron llegar esta noche
a ellas/

V sabado a siete dias del mes de octubre amanecieron de las islas que pusieron nombre san sal
bador el martes dia fueron de la una dellas y fueron a reconocer el en tierra a ber si
avia gente. e como el batel llegaba cerca salio mucha cantidad de yndios de entre los
matos e yerbas dando grita. e haziendo la per mesa y señalando que saliesen en
tierra. y ellos vian como y ban huyendo de las mugeres y dellos vatelos les hizieron
señas que no tubiesen miedo y luego asegurados y pusieron en tierra sus arcos
e flechas. y hicieron una canoa buena al agua que cabrian cobro de diez yndios
y vinieron a las naos, dieron les cuentas y rescates con que se olgaron
mucho y se bolbieron. despues fueron los españoles en tierra y estubieron muy
seguros ellos y las yndias. e todos. a quien les señalo mucho pescado. que en
tierra firme andaban tambien como los españoles vestidos y barbudos
no estubieron en esta isla mas de hasta medio dia/

V el domingo siguiente a cobro del dicho mes allegaron en tierra firme en una baya
grande que llamaron la baya de los fuegos por los muchos fuegos que en ella vieron
aqui tomaron platica con unos yndios que tomaron con una canoa. los quales señalaron hazia
el norte q avia españoles como ellos. esta es la baya. en. 38. grados y es buen puerto y
buena tierra de muchos valles y llanuras y arboledas/

V este lunes siguiente a nueve dias del dicho mes de octubre partieron de la baya de los fuegos y an
duvieron este dia cobria de siete leguas y surgieron en una ensenada grande y de
ay pasaron. el otro dia siguiente martes y anduvieron cobria de ocho leguas. por esta
costa de nornoreste sueste y primero entraron en un puerto de yndios junto a la mar y las casas grandes
a manera de las de la nueva españa y surgieron en frente de un valle muy grande de
ynla costa. aqui vinieron a los navios muchas canoas muy buenas q cabrian en cada una
de ocho treinta yndios y les dieron noticia de xpianos que andaban por la tierra aden
tro. en esta costa de nornoreste sueste. a quien les dio algunos rescates con q se olgaron
mucho, señalaron que en siete dias podian ir adonde andaban. los españoles y
el estubo se terminado juan xuarez para q ymbiar dos españoles dentro la tierra,
y tambien señalaron que avia un rio grande, que estos yndios ymbiaron en una
canoa a la ventisca. a los xpianos, pusieron nombre a este pueblo el pueblo de las
canoas, andan cubiertos con unas pelleias de animales. sangre cabras y carneros
pescado crudo. tambien comian maiz, esta este pueblo en. 38. grados
y tercio, la tierra adentro es un valle muy fermosso y señalaron q avia
dentro en aquel valle mucho maiz y mucha comida. parece que no trae de aquella

...yalle vnas sierras muyaltas tierra muydoblada .llamanalos Xpianos ta qui...
, aqui tomaron posesion . aqui estubieron hasta el viernes @ 13. dias del dho m...

v Viernes a 13. dias del dho mes de octubre partieron delpueblo delas canoas para ...
y andubieron este dia seis o siete leguas ypasaron de tierra dedos yslas grandes ...
que tornan quatro leguas cadavna y estaran quatro leguas dela tierra firme ...
son despobladas porque noay agua enellas y tienebuenos puertos , vala costa ...
dela tierra firme alles noruestе , es tierra llana y de muchas cabanas yarbo...
y el sabado siguiente partieron su via yandubieron dos leguas no mas y surgieron ...
en frente de vn valle muy fermosso é muy poblado é tierra llana é de muchas ...
arboledas . aqui vinieron canoas conpescado axxescatan . que daran grandes ...
y el domingo siguiente -a quinze dias del dho mes . andubieron nabegando su via ...
alluengo dela costa robra de diez leguas y siempre hubo muchas canoas porque ...
la costa es poblada sima y venian muchos yndios siempre delas naos . ynos señala...
los pueblos y los nonbraban porsus nombres / jsm / xuco / bis . / sopono / allo...
/ xabaagua / xocotoc / potoltuc / nacbuc / quelguame / misinagua / misesop...
/ elquis / . aloo / mupu / xagua / anacbuc / partocac / susuquesi / quan ma...
y pua / asimu / aquin / casalic tucumu / ync pupu / . todos estos pueblos esta...
desde elprimer pueblo delas canoas que se dize / xucu / hasta aqui , estan...
muybuena tierra muybuenas llanuras é muchas arboledas é cabanas andan ves...
ompelliços . dezian q dentro dela tierra habia muchos pueblos é muchomaiz de a...
a tres soznadas . llaman al maiz cep . y tambien q habia muchas vacas , llaman a...
vacas / cae / tambien nos dieron noticia de vna gente barbada é vestida . pasaron ...
este dia de tarde cabana y la grande que tenia quinze leguas de largo y dixeron q...
estaba muypoblada y que abia los pueblos siguientes . / xiquipos / maxul / xuqu...
/ nitel / macamo / nimita pal / . llamaron la ysla salucas , abra de aqui a t...
pue delas canoas / 18. leguas , estara la ysla de tierra firme seys leguas
v Lunes a 16. dias del dho mes nabegando aluengo dela costa andubieron qua...
leguas y surgieron ala tarde en frente de dos pueblos . y tambien este dia sa...
que vinieron canoas amlas naos y señalaron que adelante abia canoas m...
mayores /

v El martes siguiente 17. del dho mes andubieron tres leguas con tres bonancibo...
y fueron conlas naos desde q amanecio muchas canoas y el cap. siempre les ...
daba muchos axescates é toda esta costa pordonde han passado esta muypo...
, trayanles mucha sardina fresca y muy buena , dizen q ala tierra adentro ...
muchos pueblos é mucha comida , estos no comian sino maiz , andaban de...
dos de pellicos y traen los cabellos muy largos y rebueltos con vnos ox del...
muy largos y metidos por entre los cabellos y aquellos cordeles muchas ...
de pedernales y de huesso y de madera . la tierra es muy excelente de arbole...
miercoles a 18. dias del dho mes andubieron corriendo la costa hasta las diez ...
y bian toda la costa poblada . e porque subaban el viento fresco no surgieron en no...
, allegaron a vna punta que hace cabo como galera y le pusieron nombre cabo de...

y esta en .36. grados largos, é porque les dió nornoroeste fresco dieron el bordo dela
mar y descubrieron dos yslas: la vna grande que terna ocho leguas de costa de
leste oeste y la otra terna quatro leguas y entre estas grandes ay vn puerto bueno y
sin pobladas, estan diez leguas de tierra firme. llamanse las yslas de san lucar
, dela tierra firme hasta el cabo de galera se corre al oeste quarta del nordeste
y desde el pueblo delas canoas hasta el cabo de galera es vna prouinçia muy poblada y llam
anla Acexu. tiene muchas lenguas diuersas vnas de otras, tienen muy grandes
guerras vnos con otros y ay desde el pueblo delas canoas hasta el cabo de galera .30.
leguas, estuvieron en estas yslas hasta el miercoles siguiente porque hizo mucho
temporal.

v miercoles a 25. dias del dho mes partieron delas dhas yslas delas canoas estaba a
barlovento. tiene vn puerto muy bueno que por todos los tiempos dela mar no se les daña
nada estando dentro. llamaron la posesion. este dia anduvieron poco porque no habia
tiempo y a la media noche siguiente. leuo vn viento sudueste y oeste sudueste con llubia que
se vieron en aprieto por ser baxa trabesia y estan cerca de tierra y propusieron
doblar el cabo de vn cabo no del otro y el pueblo siguiente. á abispras les alargo el viento
al sur en que andarian en su derrota diez leguas en costa de nor nornoroeste sursueste, toda
esta costa es poblada al parescer buena tierra, esta noche se tuvieron a la mar por
que hacia el tiempo en traviesa y el viernes y el sabado y domingo siguiente anduvieron
con bientos contrarios barloventeando a vna parte y a otra sin poder ganar nada
y estaban en .36. grados y m. diez leguas del cabo de galera, ansimismo anduvieron
lunes y martes a 31. dias del dho mes vispera de todos santos bolteando a vna parte
y a otra y quisieron allegar a la tierra firme. en busca de vn rio grande que lleb
an noticia del que estaba de la otra parte del cabo de galera. é porque hacia entre tierra
muestras de rios y no hallaron ninguno tampoco surgieron aqui porque hera
costa muy brava, hallaron en este mes en esta costa los tiempos como en españa en
los .39. grados arriba y con mucho frio a las mañanas y a las tardes y con los tem
porales grandes con mucha agua y los ayres pesados.

v miercoles a la media noche primero dia de enero siguiente a la media noche yendo del bordo dela
mar leuo mucho tiempo del nor nornoroeste y no les dexaba llebar mas de vela y al
alba reposo en tanta manera que no pudieron hazer menos de yr a buscar abrigo
y fueron al abrigo de cabo de galera y alli surgieron y fueron en tierra a por
que habia vn pueblo grande que llaman Axexo y en passando estaba estar muy ancano de
lena. acordaron de yr al pueblo delas sardinas por que estaba de agua y de lena
muy cerquita de ancano, llamaron a este abrigo de galera puerto de todos santos
, el pueblo siguiente se fueron al pueblo delas sardinas donde estuvieron tomando
agua y lena tres dias. de los naturales dela tierra les ayudaban a traer la lena
y el agua a las naos, llamase este cacique del pueblo de sardinas Acicut y los
otros que estan de alli hasta el cabo de galera son Acicut anaco y mas arriba no a
Apalatze anacoat Aolesino Anacat Apalotacat Atocare Apoia Apistopia Anocos
Ayatuno Aquiman Amioma Aparomisopona es señora de estos pueblos vna vez vn dia
hizo que vino a las naos y dormio dos noches en la capitana. y lo mismo muchos indios
, el pueblo de Acicut parescia ser cabecera de los otros pueblos por que venian alli de

rotos pueblos al llamado de aquella sonora. llamase el pueblo que esta al cabo
desde este puerto. al pueblo delas canoas es otra prouy. que llaman Xuc
tienen sus casas redondas y cubiertas muy bien hasta el suelo. andan sub
nouy. pieles de muchas maneras de animales comen pellotas de encinas y otra som
que es tan gruessa como maiz y es blanca de que hazen tamales, tiene buena
, dizen que ala tierra adentro ay mucho maiz y andan alla rombres como nos
, e sta este puerto en. 35. grados y dos tercios /

v Luues a seys del dhomes de nouiembre. partieron del dho puerto de sardinas e a
dia no andubieron cassi nada. e hasta el viernes siguiente andubieron con mu
poco tpo. este dia llegamos al cabo de galera. por todo este camino nos dian
valerse de yndios que les venian a vender con agua y pescado y amostraban mu
amor. tienen en sus pueblos sus plazas grandes. y tienen un cercado como cer
y al rededor del cercado tienen muchas losas de piedra yncadas en tierra que e
salen encima tres palmos y en medio delas cercas tienen muchos maderos y pos
como mastelejos y muy espessos tienen muchas pinturas en los mismos palos y cerca
que adoran en ellos porque quando bailan andan bailando al rededor de
cerca /

v el sabado siguiente dia desan min a onze dias del dho mes de nouy. andubieron nueve
do del cuerpo dela tierra y hallaronse esta mañana doze leguas del cabo el mismo paso
donde arribaron primero. y todo este dia tubieron buen viento que caminaron
po dela costa de nornoroeste sueste. andubieron bien veynte leguas. toda esta costa
que andubieron este dia es costa brava sin abrigo ninguno y pa una ancora
peñeria en toda ella muy alta y tan alta es a la mar como a la tierra dentro
la mar en ella. ni bieron poblazon ni fumos. y toda la costa que no tiene abrigo
parte esta despoblada. pusieron nombre a las sierras las sierras de san min. e
en. 37. grados y medio, el rremate dellas y de todas sierras al noroeste ha
un cabo que sale a la mar que esta en. 38. grados. pusieronle cabo de min. /

v esta dicha noche de sabado a quatro horas de la noche estando de la mar rotta de
leguas de la costa al rrepato esperando al dia con viento sueste. cargo tanto
de sueste. e del sueste con lluvias y cerrazon que no podian tener paño de
vela e hizieronla arrear con un papo de vela del trinquete con mucho trabajo
la noche. y el domingo siguiente cargo mucho mas de poco effecto, que duro el dia y
noche hasta el lunes siguiente a medio dia y hera tan grande la tormenta como
abra en españa. el sabado a la noche perdieron de vista la compañia /

v el lunes a treze dias del dho mes de nouy. a hora de bisperas. abonanco el viento y
al oeste luego dieron las velas y fueron en busca dela compañia a la buelta este
tierra rrogando a dios que les separase que nre capitan mucho que seria perdi
ofrecieron al norte. este nornoroeste con viento oeste y oest noroeste y el mar
siguiente en amaneciendo rovieron vista dela tierra y tubieron que andar hasta
de y fueron a rreconocer con una tierra muy alta y andubieron a lo largo de
costa por ver si avia algun puerto donde rrepasasen y hera traita la mar
tenia que avia. que hera espanto ver, y la costa brava y sierras muy altas

a la tarde se pararon al rrepparo de vna punta que sale a la mar que haze cabo y esta cubierta de arboleda a la punta y esta en 40 grados /

v miercoles a 25 del dho mes tubieron vista de la ynsenada de que dieron muchas gracias a dios quala tubieron por por dida e arribaron sobre ella. juntaronse ala tarde, los dos nauios pasaron mas trabaso y rriesgo q los dela capitana por ser el nauio pequeño y no tener puente, esta tierra donde andaban es de arboleda muy buena empezo a verse yndios ni fuegos, ay grandes sierras cubiertas de nieues, ay mucha arboleda. a la noche se amayñaron y se pusieron al rrepparo /

v jueues siguiente a 26 del dho mes se a mane cieron sobre vna ensenada grande que venia de buelta que parescia auer puerto e rrio y andubieron vaxlo bentеando este dicho dia y la noche y el viernes siguiente hasta que vieron que ni auia rrio ni abrigo ninguno y para tomar posesion. echaron ancla en 45 brasas no osaron yr a tierra por la mucha mar que auia. estaba esta ensenada en 39 grados largos y toda ella estan llena sepinos hasta la mar. pusieron le nombre la baya delos pinos. la noche siguiente estubieron al rrepparo hasta el dia

v el sabado siguiente rrecorrieron la costa y hallaron se a la noche sobre el cabo de sant tomas esta costa desde este dia es muy brava y ay mucha mar de leba y la tierra muy alta. ay montañas que se van al cielo y la mar rebate en ellas, yendo nauegando cerca de tierra parece q quieren caer sobre las naos, estan llenas de nieues alla cumbre. pusieron les nombre sierras nebadas. y al principio del cabo haze vn cabo que sale a la mar que le pusieron nombre cabo de nieues, a rrescate costa nor noroeste su sueste no parece que abitan yndios en esta costa, este cabo de nieue en 38 grados y dos tercios. y siempre le Ventaba hazia claro y limpio el tpo /

v jueues a 23 dias del mes allegaron de buelta dlas yslas de santa cruz a vna della llamada la posesion y rrecorrieron toda la costa punta por punta desde el cabo de pinos asta alla y no allaron abrigo ninguno porque de necesidad ouieron de bolver ala dha ysla porque estos dias pasados vento oest noroeste muy mucho y venia la mar de leba muy grande desde cabo de min hasta cabo de pinos, no vimos yndios ninguno y causalo la costa ser brava y desabrigada y despoblada la costa. y dela banda del sueste del cabo de min en 25 leguas allaron la tierra poblada e muchas humadas porque es buena tierra, empeza desde el cabo de min hasta los 40 grados no vimos señal de yndios, este cabo de san min en 37 grados 18 /

v estando y mbernando en esta ysla de posesion a tres dias del mes de henero de mill e quinientos e quarenta y tres, fallecio desta presente vida Juan Rodriguez cabezillo capitan delos dhos nauios de vna caida que dio en la dha ysla a tres dias del dho mes de henero. la otra vez q estubieron en ella. dequese quebro vn braco por sunto al ombro. de xo por capitan el piloto mayor que hera vn bascongado de nasion natural de lebantisco. y les encargo mucho al tpo de su muerte que no se diesen de dar cubierta. quanto posible fuesse por todas aguellas costas, pusieron nombre a las yslas, la ysla de

juan xro dziquez - llaman los yndios aesta y sla .s. ciquimuymu, y a otra llama m
/nicalque, e ala otra llaman, limu .s. en esta y sla de la poseſsion ay dos pueblos el vn
se dize .s. cico / y el otro, nimollo llo .s. en la otra y sla ay tres pueblos. a l vno lla
/ni chothi / y el otro / coy coy / y el otro / esto coloco .s. en la otra y sla ay ocho pues
que son .s. niqueses que lua / poele / pisqueno / pualnaca tup / patiquiu / patiquili
/ nimumu / muoc .s. pilidquay / libef. /

hen.º v los yndios destas y slas son muy pobres, son pescadores, no tienen otra cosa si pesca do
no. duermen en el suelo. todo su negocio y exercicio es pescar, en cada casa dize
que ay cinq.ta animas biben muy aporcada m.te andan desnudos .s. estubieron en estas
y slas desde xij. de nouy.e hasta diz y nueue de hen.º en que todo este tpo que estuuo
casi dos meses hizo muy xrezios tpos de yembierno y de aguas los tpos que mas
siguieron fueron oest subduestes y susuduestes y oest. no nuestes hubo
tiempos muy desechos /

v viernes a .xij. dias del mes de henero de mil D. xl uij. / se hizieron ala vela
de la y sla de juan xro dziquez que se dize ciquimuymu, pa yr a la tierra a frme
en busca de algunas bastimt.os pa su jornada y en saliendo del puerto les dio
mucho tpo. de oest noruestc. que les hizo arribar ala otras y slas de sanlucas
y surgieron en la y sla de li ruen que pusieron nombre. .s.s. y tubieron necesidad
de lebantarse otra vez de alli por que no habia puerto mas del abrigo de esta y sla
y torno el viento ala trabesia y andubieron ala xre donde estas y slas de
cochodias con los tpos muy ruines abrigandose con las mismas y slas de los tpos
ruines y a .xij. dias del dho entraron el mismo puerto de la y sla de s.n juan xro de
quez donde estubieron primero, el mayor trabajo que tenian era por los tpos. no
ser fixos y andaban mudandose de vno a otro .s. los que mas arrecian son de
oes. noruestc, a oest suduestc /

v martes a .xij. dias del dho mes de henero partieron de la y sla de juan xro dziquez para
la y sla de sanlucas q.e esta en medio de las otras para tomar cierta ancla que ha bian
dexado con vn tiempo no los pudiendo tomar, las q.les tomaron. e tomaron aqua

hebr.º v Partieron desta y sla de sanlucas lunes. a doze dias del mes de hebr.º y no pudieron
mas presto por los ruines tiempos q.e les hizo de vientos e muchas nieblas es poblada
y la gente es como la de la otra y sla llaman les los yndios sniculque, ay tres pue
ssos en ella y se llaman / micochi / coyroi / olac / este dia fueron al puerto de las
sardinas a tomar lena e otras cosas necesarias para su viage que en las dhas e
las y slas /

v miercoles xvij. dias del dho mes partieron del puerto de sardinas habiendo tomado ma
tadelada de lena, y no osaron estar mas alli por la mucha mar q.e hacia, no halla
ron tantos yndios como primero ni pesqueria ninguna por causa del yn bierno
, los naturales comian de las pellotas de las enzinas e otra semilla. e yerbas
del campo crudas de aqui fueron ala y sla de .ss. porque estaban alla mas segu
ros los tiempos a propossito para poderse hacer ala vela q.e yo deseaua por la mar

v domingo a .xix. dias del dho mes de hebr.º partieron de la y sla de .s.s. one

viento nordeste bonancible. e corrieron al sudueste. porque les dixeron q̃ hauia
hazia el sudueste islotras y slas. y fueron a anochecer este dia sobra de doze
leguas dela ysla de .ss. y vieron seys y slas dellas grandes y dellas
pequeñas. este dia seles murio vn marinero. y el lunes. siguio amane
cieron abarlobento delas y slas ala mar sobra de diez leguas. y con el viento
oest nordueste fueron del bordo dela mar e cinco dias al sudueste. y a cabo que
andubieron sobra de cien leguas. hallaron los tres mas arrezios y mucha mar
y sudes a .22. dias del dicho mes de hebrº. hizieron sotra buelta para la
tierra para ya en busca de cabo sepinos. con viento susueste que les duro
tres dias. y cada dia yba mas arreziando. y el domingo siguiente en amanecer
do tubieron vista del cabo sepinos y fueron este dia de anochecer veynte
leguas abarlobento en costa de nordueste sueste y no viaba sin abrigo / no se
vio fumo ninguno en tierra. e vieron vna punta q̃ hazia como vna mata de
tierra. que boluia la costa al nor nordueste. a la media noche salto el viento
al subudueste. y corrieron con este nordueste hasta el dia. y por la mañana salto
el viento al oest. sudueste muy rezio. que duro hasta el martes siguio corrieron
al nordueste /

v martes a .27. dias del dho mes boluio el tiempo al susudueste. y duro todo el dia
corrieron al oest nordueste con los trinquetes baxos porq̃ venta ba rrezio. y en
anocheciendo salto el viento al oeste corrieron toda la noche. al sur con
pocas velas. avia mucha mar y los comia /

v el miercoles siguio a .xxviij. dias del dho mes. en amaneciendo salto el viento
al sudueste fresco. e no vento mucho. este dia tomaron el altura en .43.
grados. hazia la noche refresco el viento y salto al susudueste. corrieron
esta noche al oest nordueste con mucho trabajo y el sudes con amaneciendo
salto el viento al sudueste con mucha furia y las mares venian de mucho
parte que les fatigaba mucho e pasaban por encima delos navios. que a no tener
puentes si dios no los socorriera no pudieran escapar y no pudiendo tenerse
al reparo de necesidad corrieron en popa al nordeste. a la buelta de tierra
e tubiendose y a por perdidos se encomendaron a nra señora de guadalupe y
hezieron mandas. e corrieron assi hasta las tres oras despues de medio dia
con mucho miedo y trabajo porque bian que yban a perderse. e vian ya
muchas señales de tierra que estaban cerca assi de pajaros como de pal os
muy frescos que salian de algunos rios. y luego en la gran cerrazon no pare
cia la tierra y a esta hora les socorrio la madre de dios con la gracia de su hijo.
e vino vn aguacero dela parte del norte muy rezio que les hizo correr toda
la noche. e el otro dia siguio hasta el sol puesto. al sur con los trinquetes
baxitos. e porque hacia mucha mar del sur enbestialos cada vez por
popa y pasaba por ellos a popa vna peña y salto el viento al nordueste
e al nor nordueste con mucha furia que les hizo correr hasta el sabado a tres
x de marco del dueste. y ales sueste con tanta mar que los traya desatinados

que ſi dios y ſu bendita madre milagrossamente no los ſaluara. no pudieran escapar
el sabado a media dia albanco el tpo. e que do al noruoeste. de que dieron muchas
gracias a nro señor, q la comida tambien pasaban ſatisfa. por no tener. sino sola
vizcocho e dagoado /

v parecele q. que queda [illegible] rrio muy grande. deq tubieron mucha noticia. entre
41. grados. e. 43. porque dieron muchas señales dello, este dia ala tarde vieron
creyeron al cabo de pinos, y porla mucha mar que habia no pudieron hazer
menos de correr la costa de buelta en busca de puerto. q pisaban muchs pio /

v lunes a cinco dias del dhomes de marco de 1543. en amaneciendo se hallaron el
marco ysla de juan rrodriguez y no osaron entrar el puerto por caussa dela mucha tormenta
que andaba y rrompia la mar q la entrada del puerto enquinze braças hera el
tpo. noroeste. e. o. sudoeste. es apposita la entrada. corrieron al abrigo dela ysla de ss. para
~~yr catar el firme~~ dela vanda del sueste y la noche pasada rremando con mucho
temporal con sola m. en sendos papos de velas q los trinquetes seles desaparesçio
el otro nabio que sospecharon que la mar lo hauia comido y no le pudieron desca
brir mas ni ver despues que amaneçio. creen que estavian en 44. grados
quando les tomo la tormenta postrera que les hizo arribar /

v juebes a ocho dias del dhomes. partieron dela ysla de. ss. para yr entrar
el firme en busca del otro nauio y fueron al pueblo delas canoas y no hallaron
mas de lo tro nauio. y aqui tomaron qua troynios /

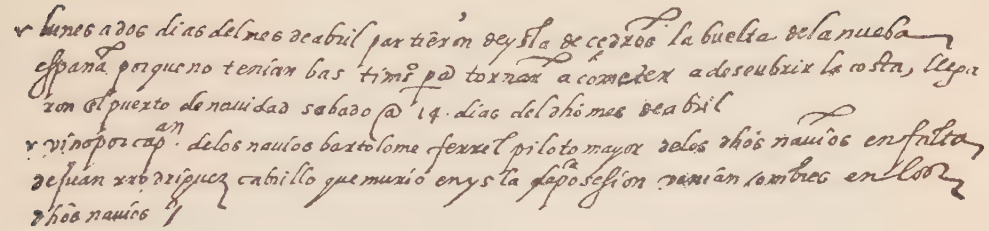
v el viernes siguo a nueue del dho mes partieron del pueblo delas canoas. e fueron
ala ysla de san saluador e tampoco allaron la compañia /

v domingo a onze del dho mes allegaron al puerto de san miguel. y tampoco allaron a
la compañia ni nuebas della. aqui esperaron seis dias, aqui tomaron dos muchachos
para lenguas para llebar ala nueua españa e dexaron ciertas señas para si alle
gasse el otro nabio /

v sabado a 17. dias del dhomes partieron del dho puerto de san miguel. el domingo
siguo. llegaron en la baya de san mateo y tampoco allaron nra stio del otro
nauio /

v domingo a 18. dias del dhomes q la tarde partieron desta baya de san mateo y
el miercoles siguo. a 21 del dhomes llegaron al puerto delaposesion y tampoco
hallaron nuebas dela anseaba esperaron dos dias sin entrar el puerto
porque no osaron entrar el por. el mucho noruoeste que ventaba y por que fue
rto el amarra de necesidad se lebantar on /.

v viernes a 23. dias del dhomes partieron del puerto delaposesion y el sab
siguo a media noche llegaron en ysla de cedros y estando enella. el lunes
siguo a 26. dias del dhomes allego el otro nabio en ysla de cedros
de q se rolgaron mucho e dieron muchas gracias adios /. este nabio pas
ola ysla de juan rrodriguez de noche por encima de unos baxos que pensaron
perder se y prometieron los maxinos seguir a su y glesia. asi mudos en fuerça
de mra. señora los libros /



Translation

Juan Rodriguez left the Puerto de Navidad[20] June 27, 1542, to discover the coast of New Spain. From the Puerto de Navidad to Cabo de Corrientes it took a day and a night with a southeast wind, forty leagues. From Wednesday until the following Thursday they held their course along the coast thirty-five leagues, and Sunday, July 2, had sight of California, having been delayed in crossing almost four days on account of the winds which were not very favorable. On Monday, the 3d, they cast anchor at the Punta de la California[21] and remained there two days. From there they went to the Puerto de San Lucas[22] on Thursday and took in water, and during this time saw not a single Indian. It is said that this port is in 23° and from the point to the port it is clean and suitable for anchoring.[23] The country is bare and broken.

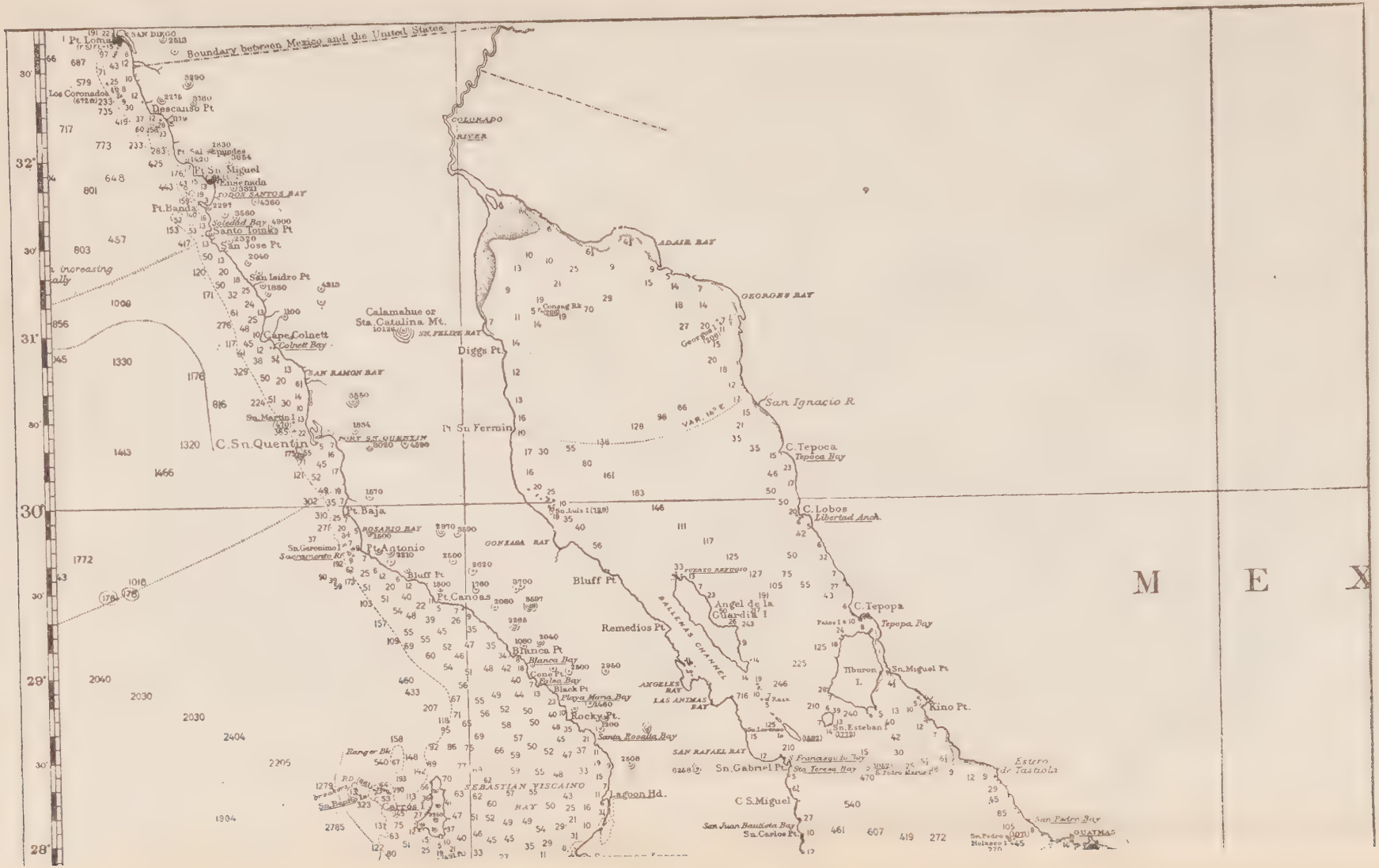
They sailed from Puerto de San Lucas Thursday night and on the following Saturday, the 8th, anchored at the Punta de la Trinidad in 25° — about five[24] leagues from San Lucas. The coast is clean and without dangers.[25] In the country inside high mountains appear, bare and broken. They remained at anchor here on account of contrary winds from the west-northwest until the following Wednesday, the 12th, when they left. An island at the Puerto de la Trinidad makes a good port, protected from the west-northwest winds. It is at the head of the island on the southeast side, is clear and suitable for anchoring, but has neither wood nor water.[26] The island is ten leagues in length and two in width. That night they anchored. On the following Thursday they set sail and passed by the Puerto de San Pedro in 25½°.[27] In this port there is neither water nor wood; its direction is to the southeast and it has good shelter from the west winds.

They continued sailing along the coast, which makes a great *ensenada,*[28] the cape of which is in 26°.[29] It is low land and sand dunes, and the coast is white and clean.[30] They went sailing along this with favorable winds up to 27°, and Wednesday, the 19th, went ashore at a port which they found. When they landed they found an Indian trail and went along this about an harquebus shot, to where they found a spring. The land inside is level, bare, and very dry. They named it "Puerto de la Madalena."[31] It may be forty leagues from the Baia de San Martin[32] to this port. On Thursday following, the 20th, they continued sailing along the coast with vile[33] winds and about six leagues beyond found anchorage behind a point which they called the "Punta dc la Santa Catalina."[34]

Thus they went sailing along the coast, and Tuesday following, the 25th, discovered a large bay in 27½°, having made very little progress these days on account of the vile winds. In this port they anchored, naming it the "Puerto de Santiago";[35] it is about twenty-three leagues from the Puerto de Madalena. Five leagues from the Punta de Santiago[36] are some very dangerous reefs of rocks called "Abreojo"[37] which only appear when the surf breaks on them. They are a league from land and in full 27½°. They went sailing on the same course along the coast up to 28°, where they anchored under the shelter of a point where there are some trees, the first seen since leaving the Punta de la California. From this point to the Puerto de Santiago, that is, its northwest point, it may be about twenty-three leagues. The sierras are high and rugged with some trees on them. We named it "Santa Ana";[38] it has a small island about a league from land. Thursday, the 27th, they left the Puerto de Santa Ana and went on about six leagues to anchor in a port they named "Puerto Fondo," on account of the great depth they found, for close to the land there were thirty fathoms of water.[39] It is clean. The following day they left this port, but had to return there three times on account of contrary winds, and they remained in port until the Monday following. Monday, the 31st, they left this Puerto Fondo and anchored that night about eight leagues from there and the day following continued on their voyage.

Tuesday, the first day of August, they proceeded some ten leagues to where they anchored in a port they named "San Pedro Vincula,"[40] in sight of the Isla de Çedros. The port is in full 28½°; the country is high, rugged and bare, and from California to this place we have not seen an Indian.[41] Wednesday, the 2d, they left this port and encountering a contrary wind went on beating and came to anchor at an island four leagues from the southeast part of the Isla de Çedros. This island, which they called "San Esteban,"[42] bears east-west with the end of the point of the mainland from which it is about a league distant; the coast runs northwest-southeast.[43] From this point the mainland turns toward the east-northeast, making a great *ensenada*[44] in which land cannot be seen. Between the island and the mainland there is a good passage, but you have to pass close to the island, for there is a reef running out about a quarter of a league from the point. There is on the water a great deal of grass which grows from the bottom and is fastened there.[45] The island bears northwest-southeast with San Pedro Vincula and is about three leagues in circumference. We were here on account of contrary winds until the following Saturday, the 5th. It has a good harbor on the southeast side and many fish can be caught with a hook, and there are many birds. They left the Isla de San Esteban Saturday, the 5th, and went to anchor at the Isla de Çedros, where they remained until Thursday, the 10th, taking water and wood. They found no Indians, although they did find some signs of them. The leeward point of the island on the south side is in 29°,[46] and on this south side there are some good ports, water and wood, but on this side it is bare, having nothing but some small shrubs. The island is large, high and bare, and runs almost east and west, being a matter of twelve leagues long on the south side.

LOWER
CALIFORNIA
GULF
OF
CALIFORNIA
Pt San Eugenio
Pt Malarrimo
Breaker Pt
P San Bartolome
Thurlow Hd
Morro Hermoso
San Cristobal Bay
San Pablo Bay
San Roque Bay
ASUNCION BAY
San Hipolito Bay
Abreojos Pt
SOLLANA BAY
San Ignacio Lagoon
Trinidad Pt
Sta Ana Bay
C. Virgenes
Sta Maria Cove
P Sta Rosalia
San Lucas Cove
Chivato Pt
Sta Ines Bay
Concepcion Pt
Concepcion Bay
SAN NICOLAS BAY
Pulpito Pt
San Basilio Bay
Mangles Pt
Mangles Anch
Coronados I
Pt San Juanico
Pequeña Bay
Sn Domingo Pt
Loreto
Carmen I
Salinas Bay
Fort Escondido
Monserrate I
Sta Catalina I
Agua Verde Bay
Boca Comondu
Boca de las Animas
Boca de Sn Domingo
Boca de Soledad
Sn Marcial Pt
Sn Telmo Pt
Nopolo Pt
Las Animas
Sta Cruz I
San Diego I
Pt Sn Ignacio
Sn Ignacio Farallon
Alijos Rocks
Thetis Bank
C. San Lazaro
MAGDALENA BAY
Almejas Bay
Sta Margarita I
Sta Marina Bay
San Jose I
Amortajada B
San Francisco
Mechudo Hd
Coyote Pt
Espiritu Santo I
Ceralbo I
LAPAZ
Ventana Bay
Arena de la Ventana Pt
Muertos Bay
Marquis Pt.
Pescaderos Pt
Palmas Bay
Arena Pt
Todos Santos
Los Frailes
San Pedro Pt
Gaviota Pt
San Cristobal Pt
San Jose del Cabo Bay
San Lucas Bay
C. San Lucas
Cape San Lucas
Variation increasing 6' annually
1971
Mayo R.
Yaqui R.
R Alamos
Pt Sn Ignacio


Boundary between Mexico and the United States
Pt. Loma
SAN DIEGO
Los Coronados
Descanso Pt.
Pt. San Miguel
Pt. Banda
Soledad Bay
Santo Tomás Pt.
San José Pt.
San Isidro Pt.
Cape Colnett
Colnett Bay
SAN RAMON BAY
Sa. Martha I.
C. S.n. Quentin
PORT ST. QUENTIN
Pt. Baja
ROSARIO BAY
Pt. Agtonio
Sacramento R.
Bluff Pt.
Pt. Canoas
Blanca Pt.
Blanca Bay
Cone Pt.
Salsa Bay
Black Pt.
Playa Marsa Bay
Rocky Pt.
Santa Rosalia Bay
Ranger Bk.
SEBASTIAN VISCAINO BAY
Carmen I.
Lagoon Hd.
Calamahue or Sta. Catalina Mt.
SN. FELIPE BAY
Diggs Pt.
ADAIR BAY
GEORGES BAY
San Ignacio R.
Pt. Su Fermin
C. Tepoca
Tepoca Bay
C. Lobos
Libertad Anch.
GONIARA BAY
Bluff Pt.
Remedios Pt.
BALLENAS CHANNEL
Angel de la Guardia I.
C. Tepopa
Tepopa Bay
Tiburon I.
Sn. Miguel Pt.
Kino Pt.
ANGELES BAY
LAS ANIMAS BAY
Sn. Esteban I.
SAN RAFAEL BAY
Sn. Gabriel Pt.
Sta. Teresa Bay
Estero de Tastiola
C. S. Miguel
San Juan Bautista Bay
Sa. Carlos Pt.
San Pedro Bay
GUATMAS
COLORADO RIVER
MEX

They left the Isla de Çedros on Thursday, the 10th, to continue their voyage, and went towards the north in the direction of the mainland. This day they sailed some ten leagues and on Friday came to anchor in a good port, which they named "Puerto de Santa Clara."[47] They went ashore and found four Indians, who fled. It is in scant 30°, northeast of the Isla de Çedros. From here towards the *ensenada,* the coast runs south-southeast and is clean and suitable for anchoring. The country is bare but not rugged, having plains and valleys. They remained in this port until Sunday, the 13th, on account of the vile winds. Sunday, the 13th, they left the port and sailed along the coast with light winds, anchoring each night, and on Tuesday following anchored at a point in 30½° which makes an *ensenada.* It has very little shelter, so they named it "Punta de Mal Abrigo."[48] Wednesday following they went sailing along close to the coast and encountered much contrary wind from the northwest, so they lay to at night without gaining anything, and on Thursday following, proceeded with rainstorms, sudden changes of wind and calms, so that they did not go to land. That night they had a strong wind from the west-northwest so they lay to, and on Friday went on with favorable winds and found themselves six leagues to the windward of Punta de Mal Abrigo. Thus they went on until the following Saturday, the 19th, when they cast anchor at a small island which is about a half a league from the mainland and about ten leagues from Punta de Mal Abrigo. It is in 30° 40′, has a good anchorage and affords good shelter. They named it "San Bernardo."[49] It measures about a league from north to south. The coast of the mainland, which is clean, runs from north-northwest to south-southeast. The country inside is of very good appearance and is level; there are some good valleys and some trees. The other [that is, the island] is bare. During these days they found no sign of Indians.

Sunday, the 20th, they left the Isla de San Bernardo and arrived at Punta del Engaño, which must be seven leagues from the island and is in 31°.[50] From the point towards the island the coast trends north-northwest south-southeast. At the Punta del Engaño the country is not high and seems to be good land and level. The mountains are bare; we saw no sign of Indians.[51] So they went sailing on until the next Monday, following the coast towards the north and northeast, and a matter of ten leagues from Punta del Engaño discovered a good port in which they anchored and took in water and wood. It is in 31½° and is a port in which one can make any kind of repairs to ships, putting them on shore for that purpose.[52] The following Tuesday Captain Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo went ashore and took possession in the name of His Majesty and the most illustrious Don Antonio de Mendoza, naming it "Puerto de la Posesion."[53] A lagoon was found which had three large [arms].[54] They discovered some Indian fishermen, who at once took flight, but they captured one of them. They turned him loose, however, after giving him some presents, and he went away. The country inside is high broken land, has good valleys and appears to be good country, although bare. They remained here until Sunday, the 27th, dressing the sails and taking water. Thursday they saw some smoke, and going there

with the ship's boat, found about thirty Indian fishermen, who waited for them. They brought to the ship a boy and two Indian women, to whom they gave something to wear and some presents and then let them go. They could not make out anything from them, even by signs.

On the following Friday, when going to take water, they found at the watering-place some Indians who awaited them and who showed them a spring and a saline which contained much salt.[55] These explained by signs that they did not have their home there but inland, and that there were many people. The same day in the afternoon five Indians who seemed to be intelligent came to the beach. They took them to the ships, and as they went aboard they pointed out and counted the Spaniards and made signs that they had seen other men like them who had beards and who had with them dogs, cross-bows, and swords. The Indians were painted on the thighs, body and arms with white bitumen, put on like slashes in cloth, so that they looked like men in slashed breeches and jackets. They made signs that the Spaniards were five days' journey from there[56] and also that there were many Indians and that they had much maize and many parrots. They were covered with deerskins which some wore dressed in the same manner as the Mexicans dress the hides they wear in their *cutaras*.[57] The people are large and well built and carry bows and arrows like those of New Spain, the arrows having flint points. The Captain gave them a letter to carry to the Spaniards who they said were inland.

Sunday, the 27th, they left Puerto de la Posesion and proceeding on their course found an uninhabited island two leagues from the mainland, with a good harbor in it, which they named "San Agustin."[58] It is about two leagues in circumference. So they went beating along the coast with light winds, until the following Wednesday, the 30th, when a storm from the northwest struck them which obliged them to return to the Isla de San Agustin. On this island they found signs of people and two cow-horns,[59] as well as very large trunks of trees which the sea had cast up, measuring more than sixty feet in length, and of a thickness so great that two men together could not reach around them. They looked like cypresses and there were cedars besides. Altogether there was a great quantity of this wood.[60] There is nothing else on this island except a good harbor, and here they stayed until the following Sunday.

Sunday, September 3, they set out from this island, and following their course, anchored near the land on the Monday following, some seven leagues to windward on a north-south coast, but soon went on their course and continued sailing with favorable but light winds along a north-south coast until Thursday, the 7th, when they came to anchor in an *ensenada* which the mainland forms. Here the coast ends its north-south trend and turns toward the northwest. In this *ensenada* there is a great valley; the land is level on the coast and there are high sierras inside. The broken country seems to be good and all the coast is bold and so sloping that a half a league from land they were anchored in ten fathoms. Here there was much kelp in the water.[61] Friday following, the 8th, they went on with light winds plying to windward and here encountered con-

trary currents. They came to anchor at a point which makes a cape and affords a good shelter from the west-northwest winds, naming it "Cabo de Santa Maria."[62] It is the end of country from both sides, as some high sierras which come from behind end here and other small sierras begin. There is a great valley, and many others; apparently[63] it is a good country. It is in 32½°, is a clean port with bottom in easy reach and bears north-south with the Isla de San Agustin.[64] While in this Puerto de Santa Maria they went on shore for water and found a small lagoon of fresh water, where they obtained some. At this watering-place about forty Indians came up with their bows and arrows, but they could not be understood. They were naked and brought roast maguey and fish to eat. They are large people. Here they took possession and remained until the following Monday. Monday, the 8th [11th], they left Cabo de Santa Maria and sailed about four leagues on a north-northeast south-southwest coast, but from there the coast turns to the northwest. The country is high and bare. The following day they sailed along a northwest-southeast coast a matter of six leagues, all bold and clean. The following day also they sailed with vile winds some four leagues along a northwest-southeast coast; on the land there are high and rugged sierras. The following Thursday they anchored about three leagues beyond at a point which runs out into the sea and makes a cape from one side and the other which they named "Cabo de Cruz."[65] It is in 33°; there is no water or wood, nor did they find any sign of Indians. Having left Cabo de la Cruz, they found themselves on the following Saturday, by reason of the vile winds, only two leagues from the cape, on a coast trending north-northwest. On shore they saw some Indians in some very small canoes. The land is very high, bare and arid. All the country from California here has beaches of sand; but now country of another character commences, as it is of reddish color and of good appearance.

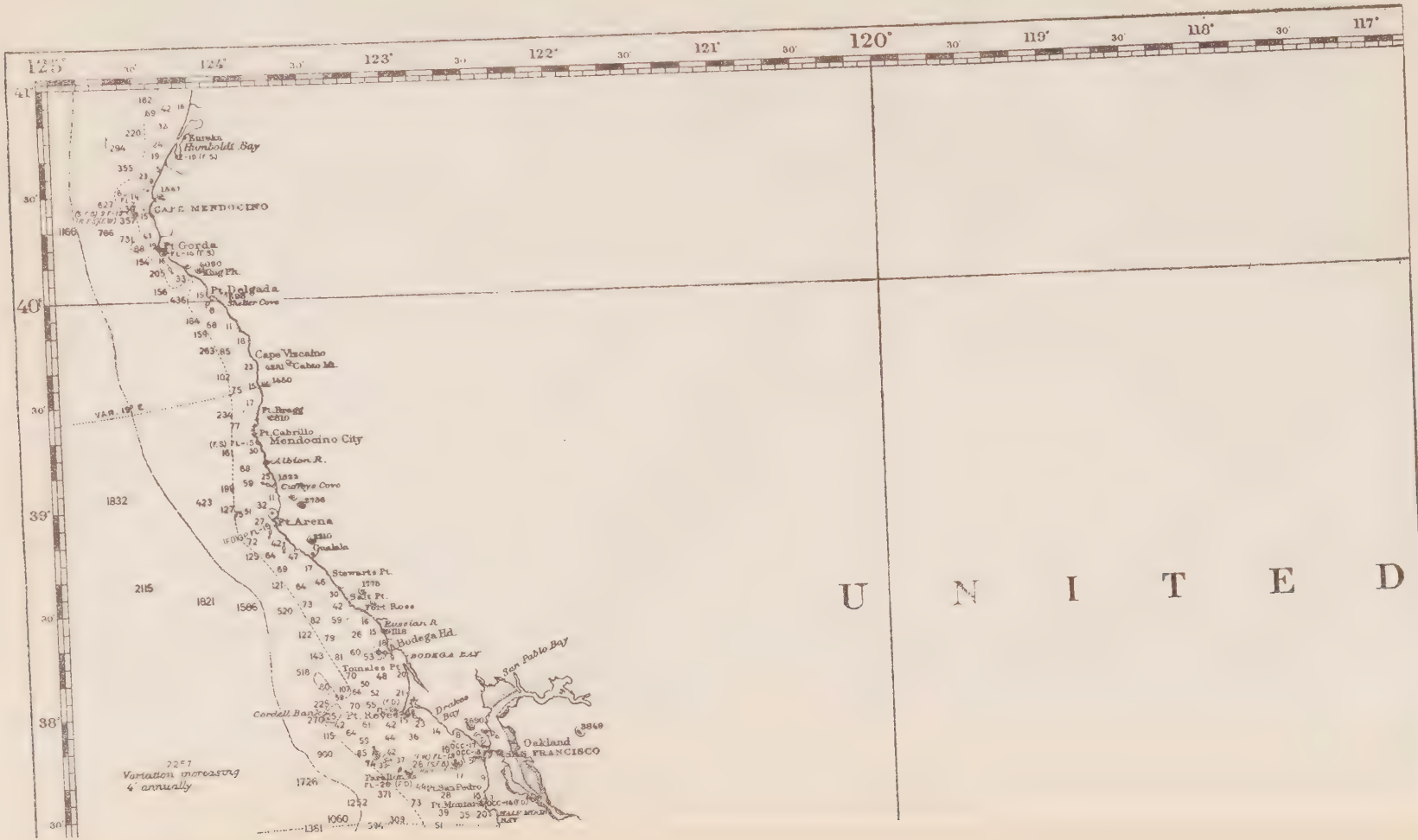
Sunday, the 17th, they went sailing along on their voyage, and about six leagues from Cabo de Cruz found a good closed port, having passed a small island near the mainland before reaching it. In this port they took water in a lagoon of rain water. There are some trees like silk-cotton trees except that they are of hard wood. They found some big thick logs cast up by the sea. This port is called "San Mateo"[66] and is apparently a good country, there being great savannas and grass like that of Spain. The land is high and broken. They saw some herds resembling domesticated animals of a hundred and even more, which in their appearance and their way of going, looked like the sheep of Peru. Their wool was long and they had small horns about as long as the distance between the extended thumb and forefinger, and about as thick as the thumb. The tail was broad and round and of a hand's length.[67] It is in 33° 20′. They took possession and were there until the following Saturday. Saturday, the 23d, they left the Puerto de San Mateo and sailed along the coast until the Monday following, making about eighteen leagues and seeing many beautiful valleys, groves of trees and level and broken country. They saw no Indians. On the following Tuesday and Wednesday they sailed along the coast

about eight leagues and passed by some three uninhabited islands. One of these is larger than the others, measuring about two leagues in length, and affords shelter from the west wind. They are three leagues from land and in 34°; they named them "Islas Desiertas."[68] On this day they saw on the mainland some great smokes. The country appears to be good, with large valleys. Inside, there are some high sierras.

On the Thursday following they sailed about six leagues along a north-northwest coast and discovered a very good closed port in 34° 20′, which they named "San Miguel."[69] After anchoring they went ashore where there were some people, three of whom awaited them, while the rest fled. To these some presents were given, and they explained by signs that inland people like the Spaniards had passed, and they displayed much fear. That night some went ashore from the ships to fish with a net, and it seems that there were some Indians who commenced to shoot arrows at them and wounded three men. The following day in the morning they went with the ship's boat farther up into the port, which is large, and brought back two boys who understood nothing by signs; they gave them some shirts and shortly sent them away. The following day in the morning three large Indians came to the ships and explained by signs that some people like us, that is, bearded, dressed and armed like those on board the vessels, were going about inland. They showed by signs that these carried cross-bows and swords; they made gestures with the right arm as if using lances, and went running about as if they were going on horseback, and further showed that these were killing many of the native Indians, and for this reason they were afraid.[70] The people are well built and large and go about covered with the skins of animals. While in this port a great tempest passed over, but nothing of it was felt as the port is so good. It was from the west-southwest and the south-southwest and violent. This is the first storm which has occurred.[71] They were in this port until the following Tuesday; here they called the Christians *Guacamal*.

On the Tuesday following, October 3, they left San Miguel, and Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday sailed on their course some eighteen leagues along the coast, where they saw many valleys and plains and many smokes and sierras inland. At nightfall they were close to some islands which are about seven leagues from the mainland, and as the wind died out they could not reach them that night. Saturday, the 7th, at daybreak, they reached them, and named them "San Salvador" and "Vitoria."[72] They anchored at one and went ashore with the ship's boat to see if there were any people there. As the boat was nearing land a great number of Indians came out of the bushes and grass, shouting, dancing, and making signs to come ashore. As from the boats they saw the women fleeing, they made signs to them not to fear; so shortly they became assured and put their bows and arrows on the ground. Launching into the water a fine canoe containing eight or ten Indians, they came out to the ships. These were given some beads and presents with which they were well pleased, and shortly went back. The Spaniards afterwards went ashore and both the

PLATE II. UPPER CALIFORNIA.


125°
124°
123°
122°
121°
120°
119°
118°
117°
41°
40°
39°
38°
30'
Eureka
Humboldt Bay
CAPE MENDOCINO
Ft Gorda
Ft. Dolfada
Cape Viscaino
Ft. Bragg
Ft. Cabrillo
Mendocino City
Albion R.
Arena
Gualala
Stewarts Pt.
Salt Pt.
Fort Ross
Russian R.
Bodega Hd.
BODEGA BAY
Tomales Pt.
Drakes Bay
San Pablo Bay
Oakland
SAN FRANCISCO
Cordell Bank
Pt. Reyes
Pt. Montara
Variation increasing 4' annually
U N I T E D

Indian men and women and everybody felt very secure. Here an old Indian made signs to them that men like the Spaniards, wearing clothes and having beards, were going around on the mainland. They remained at this island only until midday.

The Sunday following, the 8th, they came to the mainland in a large bay, which they named "Baia de los Fumos" on account of the many smokes they saw there. Here they engaged in intercourse with some Indians they captured in a canoe, who made signs to them that towards the north there were Spaniards like them. The bay is in 35°; it is an excellent harbor and the country is good, with many valleys, plains, and groves of trees.[73] On the following Monday, the 9th, they sailed from the Baia de los Fuegos[74] and that day went about six leagues, anchoring in a large *ensenada*.[75] From there they proceeded on the following day, Tuesday, some eight leagues along a northwest-southeast coast. We saw on land an Indian town close to the sea with large houses like those of New Spain, and they anchored in front of a large valley on the coast. Here many fine canoes holding twelve or thirteen Indians each came to the ships, and gave news of Christians who were going about inland. The coast runs northwest-southeast. Some presents were given them with which they were much pleased. They made signs that in seven days one could go to where the Spaniards were, so Juan Rodriguez decided to send on a chance two Spaniards inland with these Indians with a letter to the Christians.[76] These explained besides that there was a large river. They named the town "Pueblo de las Canoas." The people wear some animal skins, are fishermen, and eat raw fish as well as maguey. The town is in 35° 20′.[77] The country within is a very beautiful valley, and the Indians explained that inland in that valley there was much maize and food. Beyond this valley some high, very broken sierras were visible. They call the Christians *Taquimine*.

Here they took possession and remained until Friday, the 13th. On Friday they sailed from the Pueblo de las Canoas on their voyage and went this day six or seven leagues, passing along two large islands, each of which measures four leagues in length and must be four leagues from the mainland. They are unpopulated because there is no water on them, but there are good harbors.[78] The coast of the mainland runs to the west-northwest and the country is level with many savannas and groves of trees.[79] On the following day, Saturday, they went no more than two leagues, anchoring in front of a very beautiful and well-populated valley.[80] The country is flat and with many trees. Here canoes came out with fish to barter, and they became very friendly. On the following Sunday, the 15th, they continued their voyage about ten leagues along the coast, and during all that time many canoes were in evidence, because all the coast is very well settled. Many Indians kept coming aboard the ships and pointed out to us the towns, telling their names, which are: Xuco, Bis, Sopono, Alloc, Xabaagua, Xocotoc, Potoltuc, Nacbuc, Quelqueme, Mizinagua, Misesopano, Elquis, Coloc, Mugu, Xagua, Anacbuc, Partocac, Susuquei, Quanmu, Gua, Asimu, Aguin, Casalic, Tucumu, and Yncpupu. All these towns are from the

Pueblo de las Canoas, which is called "Xucu," to here. They are in a good country with fine plains and many trees and savannas. The people go about dressed in skins and say that inland at three days' distance there are many towns and much maize. They call maize *oep,* and cows, of which they say there are many, they call *cae*.[81] They also gave us news of people bearded and wearing clothes.

That day they passed along a large island about fifteen leagues long which was said to be well populated and to contain the following named towns: Niquipos, Mazul, Xugua, Nitel, Macamo, and Nimitapal. They named this island "San Lucas."[82] From here to the Pueblo de las Canoas it must be about eighteen leagues, and from the island to the mainland about six leagues. Monday, the 16th, sailing along the coast, they went four leagues and anchored in the afternoon in front of two villages.[83] On this day as well, canoes kept coming out to the ships, and they pointed out that there were still larger canoes beyond. Tuesday, the 17th, they proceeded three leagues with favorable winds, and from daybreak many canoes went along with the ships, to whom the Captain always gave many presents. All this coast passed is very well settled, the Indians bringing them many very good fresh sardines.[84] These say that inland there are many towns and much food, but they do not eat maize. They go dressed in skins and have very long hair tied up with some long cords. Inserted between the hair and these cords are many daggers made of flint, bone, and wood.[85] The country appears to be excellent. Wednesday, the 18th, they ran along the coast until ten o'clock and saw it all inhabited. As the wind was fresh, canoes did not come out to them. They arrived at a point like a galley which makes a cape and named it "Cabo de Galera." It is in full 36°.[86]

As a fresh northwest wind struck them they stood off to sea and discovered two islands, one large, about eight leagues in length from east to west, and the other about four leagues. In the small one there is a good port. They are inhabited, are ten leagues from the mainland, and are called "Islas de San Lucas."[87] From the mainland to the Cabo de Galera they trend west a quarter northwest.[88] From the Pueblo de las Canoas to Cabo de Galera there is a well inhabited province called "Xexu." There are many different languages, and they carry on great wars with each other. From the Pueblo de las Canoas to Cabo de Galera the distance is thirty leagues. They remained in these islands until the Wednesday following, because there was a great storm.[89]

Wednesday, the 25th, they left these islands, that is, the one farthest to windward, which has a very good port inside which no bad effects will be felt in any kind of sea weather. They named it "Posesion."[90] That day they only sailed a little because there was no wind. On the midnight following, a south-southwest and west-southwest wind with rain struck them, and they saw themselves in trouble as it was an on-shore wind[91] and they were near land. They could not double the cape on one tack or the other. On Thursday following, at vespers, the wind shifted to the south, and with this they went on their way ten leagues along a coast trending north-northwest, south-southeast. All this

coast is inhabited and the land seems to be good.[92] That night they held out to sea because an on-shore wind was blowing, and on the following Friday, Saturday, and Sunday they went beating about in one direction and another with contrary winds, without being able to gain any distance. Then they were in 36½°, ten leagues from Cabo de Galera. Monday and Tuesday, the 31st, the eve of Todos Santos, they went tacking about endeavoring to reach the mainland in search of a large river on the other side of Cabo de Galera of which they had information, and because on the land there were signs of rivers. They did not find any, however, nor did they anchor there, because the coast was very bold.[93] During this month they found the weather on this coast from 34° up, like that in Spain, very cold in the mornings and afternoons and with great storms of rain, heavy clouds, great darkness, and heavy air.

Wednesday at midnight, November 1, while standing off, a heavy north-northwest gale came up which did not allow them to carry an inch of sail. At daylight it came so much fresher that they could do nothing but run back to shelter, which they did under Cabo de Galera, where they anchored and went on shore, as there was a large town there called "Xexo."[94] As wood did not seem to be close at hand they decided to go to the Pueblo de las Sardinas where water and wood were very close. They called this shelter under Galera the "Puerto de Todos Santos." Thursday following they went to the Pueblo de las Sardinas, where they remained three days taking water and wood. The natives helped them and brought the wood and the water to the ships. This town at the Puerto de las Sardinas is called "Çicacut," and the others from there to the Cabo de Galera are: Çiucut, Anacot, Maquinanoa, Paltatre, Anacoac, Olesino, Caacac, Paltocac, Tocane, Opia, Opistopia, Nocos, Yutum, Quiman, Micoma, and Garomisopona. The chief of these towns is an old Indian woman who came on board the ships and slept two nights in the *Capitana*, many others doing the same. The town of Çiucut seemed to be the head of the other towns because they came there from them when called by the chief.[95] The town at the cape is called "Xexo." From this port [that is, Sardinas] to the Pueblo de las Canoas is another province which they call "Xucu." They have round houses, well covered down to the ground. They wear skins of many different kinds of animals, eat acorns and a white seed the size of maize, which is used to make tamales. They live well.[96] They say that inland there is much maize and men like us go about there. The port is in 35° 40′.

Monday, November 6, they set out from the Puerto de Sardinas and that day made almost no headway. Until the Friday following they sailed with very light winds, and that day we arrived at Cabo de Galera. In all this travel they were able to avail themselves[97] of the Indians who came on board with water and fish and displayed much friendship. In their towns they have large plazas and circular enclosures around which imbedded in the ground are many stone posts which stand about three palm-lengths above it. In the middle of these enclosures there are many very thick timbers like masts sunk in the ground. These are covered with many paintings, and we thought they must worship

them because when they danced they did so around the inside of the enclosure.

The Saturday following, the day of San Martin, November 11, they went sailing along the coast and in the morning found themselves twelve leagues from the cape in the same place from whence they had gone back for refuge the first time.[98] All this day they had favorable winds so that they went close to a northwest-southeast coast and made twenty good leagues. All the coast followed this day is bold, without shelter, and a range of very high sierras on which the sea breaks runs along all of it, as high at the sea as inland. They saw neither towns nor smokes, as all the coast, which has no shelter from the north, is uninhabited. They named these sierras the "Sierras de San Martin."[99] They are in 37½°, and the end of them and of some other sierras to the northwest makes a cape which projects into the sea in 38°. This they named "Cabo de Martin."[100] This same Saturday night, four hours after nightfall, while lying to a matter of six leagues from the coast, waiting for daybreak, with the wind in the southeast, such a rainstorm and heavy clouds from the south-southeast and south-southwest came up that they could not carry an inch of sail. They had to run before it all that night with a small piece of sail on the foremast, with great labor, and on the Sunday following the storm became much more violent, lasting that day and night and until Monday at midday. The storm was as great as any could be in Spain. Saturday night they lost sight of the consort.

Monday, November 13, at the hour of vespers the wind calmed down and shifted to the west. They at once set sail and turned towards land in search of their consort, praying God to succor[101] her, as they very much feared that she would be lost. They ran to the north and to the north-northwest with a west and west-northwest wind, and the following Tuesday at daybreak had sight of land. They had to sail until the afternoon; they came to reconnoiter it in a very high country and then went along close to the coast looking for a port where they could take shelter. The sea was so high that it was frightful to see; the coast was bold and the mountains very high. In the afternoon they lay to. The coast runs northwest-southeast. They sighted the country at a point which projects into the sea and makes a cape; it is covered with trees and is in 40°.[102] Wednesday, the 15th, they sighted the consort, for which they gave hearty thanks to the Lord, as they had considered her lost, and bearing down on her joined her in the afternoon. Those of the other ship had passed through even greater hardships and perils than those on the *Capitana* as she was small and had no covered deck. The land along which they passed is very good in appearance, but they saw neither Indians nor smokes. There are great sierras covered with snow and there is much timber.[103] At night they took in sail and lay to.

The following Thursday, November 16, at break of day they arrived off a large *ensenada,*[104] which came from behind. As it seemed to have a port and a river,[105] they went beating about all that day and night and the following Friday until they saw that there was no river nor any haven. In order to take posses-

sion they cast anchor in forty-five fathoms,[106] but did not dare go ashore on account of the great surf. This *ensenada* is in full 39°; all of it is full of pines down to the sea, and they named it the "Baia de los Pinos."[107] The night following they lay to until the following day, and Saturday ran along the coast and found themselves at night off Cabo de San Martin. All the coast passed this day is very bold; there is a great swell and the land is very high. There are mountains which seem to reach the heavens, and the sea beats on them; sailing along close to land, it appears as though they would fall on the ships.[108] They are covered with snow to the summits, so they named them the "Sierras Nevadas."[109] At their beginning there is a cape which projects into the sea which they named "Cabo de Nieve."[110] The coast runs north-northwest to south-southeast and it does not seem that Indians live on it. The Cabo de Nieve is in 38° 40′. Whenever the wind blew from the northwest the weather was clear.

Thursday, the 23d, they arrived on their return at the Islas de San Lucas, at the one named "Posesion." They had run along all the coast from point to point from Cabo de Pinos to the islands, and having found no sheltered port, were obliged to return to this island, as during the past days there was a strong wind from the west-northwest and a very high swell. All the way from the Cabo de Martin to the Cabo de Pinos we saw no Indians for the reason that the coast is bold, without shelter, and very rugged at the shore. On the southeast side of the Cabo de Martin, for fifteen leagues, they found the land inhabited and many smokes, as the country is good,[111] but from Cabo de Martin[112] up to 40° we saw no sign of Indians. The Cabo de San Martin is in 37½°.

While wintering at the Isla de Posesion, there passed from this present life, January 3, 1543, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, the captain of the ships, from a fall which he had in this island the previous time they were there, in which he broke an arm, close to the shoulder.[113] He left as captain the chief pilot, who was one Bartolomé Ferrelo, a native of the Levant, and strongly charged him at the time of his death not to fail to discover as much as possible of all that coast. They named this island the "Isla de Juan Rodriguez"; the Indians call it "Çiquimuymu." Another they call "Nicalque" and the other "Limu." On the Isla de Posesion there are two towns, "Çico" and "Nimollollo." In the other island there are three towns, "Nichochi," "Coycoy," and "Estocoloco." In the remaining island there are eight, as follows: Niquesesquelua, Poele, Pisqueno, Pualnacatup, Patiquiu, Patiquilid, Nimemu, Muoc, Pilidquay, and Lilibeque. The Indians of these islands are very poor, being fishermen, and eat nothing except fish. They do not sleep on the ground.[114] All their business and occupation is to fish. In each house they say there are fifty souls, who live very filthily, going naked. They remained at these islands from November 23 to January 19, and in all this time, almost two months, there was very rough wintry and rainy weather. The winds which were most frequent were west-southwest and south-southwest and west-northwest, some very violent.

Friday, January 19, 1543, they set sail from the Isla de Juan Rodriguez, which is called "Çiquimuymu," in order to go to the mainland in search of some

supplies for their voyage. In leaving the port such a strong wind from the west-northwest struck them that they had to take refuge at the other Islas de San Lucas and to anchor at the Isla de Limun, which they named "San Sebastian."[115] They were obliged to weigh anchor again as there was no port there, only the shelter which the islands afforded, and the wind had shifted to one on shore. They went around these islands eight days with very vile winds, sheltering themselves under the islands themselves from the bad weather, and on the 27th of the same month entered the same port of the Isla de Juan Rodriguez where they had first been. The greatest trouble they had was from unsettled winds which kept changing about from one quarter to the other, but the most constant are from the west-northwest and the west-southwest. Tuesday, the 29th, they set out from the Isla de Juan Rodriguez for the Isla de San Lucas, which is in the middle of the others, in order to get some anchors which, unable to raise, they had left there during a storm. These they secured and also took some water. They left this Isla de San Lucas Monday, February 12, not being able to do so sooner on account of the vile weather of wind and snow. It is inhabited and the people are like those of the other island. The Indians call it "Nicalque," and there are three towns on it named "Nicochi," "Coycoc," and "Coloco."[116] That day they went to the Puerto de las Sardinas to get wood and other things necessary for their voyage which were not to be found on the island. Wednesday, the 14th, they left the Puerto de Sardinas after taking a boatload of wood, not daring to stay longer on account of the high sea. They did not find so many Indians as the first time nor any fishing, as it was winter; the Indians were living on acorns, another seed, and crude herbs from the fields. From here they went to the Isla de San Sebastian in order to make sail to run out to sea, as they would be more secure there from the storms.

Sunday, February 18, they left the Isla de San Sebastian with a favorable northeast wind and ran to the southwest, because they were told that towards the southwest there were some other islands. They sailed till nightfall that day some twelve leagues from the Isla de San Sebastian and saw six islands,[117] some large and some small. That day a sailor died. The Monday following, at daybreak, they were to the windward of the islands a matter of ten leagues, and with the wind in the west-northwest, they stood out to sea for five days to the southwest.[118] At the end of this time, having gone about a hundred leagues, they found the winds stronger and a high sea. Thursday, the 22d, they went about in the direction of land in order to go in search of the Cabo de Pinos,[119] with a south-southeast wind which lasted for three days, each day coming stronger. The Sunday following, at daybreak, they had sight of Cabo de Pinos, and that day to nightfall had sailed twenty leagues to windward on a northwest-southeast coast, bold and without shelter. No smoke was seen on land. They saw a point which marks a change of trend of the land, as the coast there turns to the north-northwest.[120] At midnight the wind shifted to the south-southwest and they ran west-northwest until daybreak. In the morning the wind shifted to the west-southwest, very strong, which lasted until the Tuesday following. They ran to the northwest.

Tuesday, the 27th, the wind returned to the south-southwest and lasted all that day. They ran to the west-northwest with the forecourse as it blew very strong. As it was growing dark the wind shifted to the west, and they ran all that night to the south with little sail. There was a high sea which broke over them. On Wednesday, the 28th, at daybreak, the wind shifted to the southwest, true but not very strong. That day they observed the latitude in 43°.[121] Towards night the wind freshened and changed to the south-southwest, and that night they ran to the west-northwest with great difficulty. Thursday at daybreak the wind shifted and came from the southwest with great fury, the seas coming from many sides, which molested them very much or broke over the ships.[122]. As these had no covered decks,[123] if the Lord had not aided them, they could not have escaped. As they could not lay to, they had to run before the wind to the northeast in the direction of land. Considering themselves lost they commended themselves to our Señora de Guadalupe and made their vows. So they ran until three o'clock in the afternoon with great fear and travail as they saw that they were about to be wrecked. Already they saw many signs of land, which was near, such as birds and fresh logs, which came out of some rivers, although by reason of the great darkness land could not be seen. At this hour the Mother of Our Lord succored them with the grace of Her Son, and a very strong rainstorm came up from the north, which made them run before it towards the south with lower foresails all night and all the following day until sunset. As there was a high sea running from the south, each time that it assailed them on the bow it passed over them as if over a rock. The wind shifted to the northwest and to the north-northwest with great fury, forcing them to run before it to the southeast and the east-southeast until Saturday, March 3, with such a high sea that it set them wildly crying out that if the Lord and His blessed Mother did not miraculously save them they could not escape. Saturday at midday, the weather improved and the wind remained in the northwest, for which they gave many thanks to Our Lord. They also passed through hardships on account of the food, as they had nothing except some damaged biscuit.

It seemed to them that there is a very large river, of which they had heard much, between 42° and 43°, as they saw many indications of it.[124] This day in the afternoon they sighted Cabo de Pinos,[125] but on account of the high sea they could do nothing but run down the coast in search of a port. They endured much cold. Monday, March 5, at daybreak, they found themselves at Isla de Juan Rodriguez, but did not dare enter the port on account of the storm which was blowing, which made the sea break in fifteen fathoms at the entrance. It was a north-northwest wind and the entrance is narrow. They ran to take shelter under the Isla de San Sebastian on the southeast side. During the previous night while sailing with a high wind with only both small headsails, the other ship disappeared, so that it was suspected that the sea had devoured her; even after day dawned they could not find her. They believed that they were in 44°[126] when the last storm which made them turn back struck them.

Thursday, the 8th, they set out from the Isla de San Sebastian to go to the mainland in search of the other vessel and went to the Pueblo de las Canoas, but found no news of her. Here they took four Indians. Friday following, the 9th, they left the Pueblo de las Canoas and went to the Isla de San Salvador, but did not find the consort there either. Sunday, the 11th, they came to the Puerto de San Miguel and they neither found her there nor any news of her, but here they waited six days and took two boys to carry to New Spain to learn to be interpreters, leaving certain signals in case the other ship should come there. Saturday, the 17th, they left this Puerto de San Miguel and the Sunday following arrived at the Baia de San Mateo, but did not find any trace of the other ship there either. Sunday, the 18th, they left the Baia de San Mateo in the afternoon and the following Wednesday, the 21st, arrived at the Puerto de la Posesion, but did not find any news of their consort there either. They waited two days outside without entering the port, as they did not dare to do so on account of the high northwest wind blowing. As the cable was cut they were obliged to weigh anchor. Friday, the 23d, they left the Puerto de la Posesion and the Saturday following, at midnight, reached the Isla de Çedros. While there, on the Monday following, the 26th, the other ship arrived, at which they were delighted and gave many thanks to the Lord. At the Isla de Juan Rodriguez during the night this vessel passed over some reefs, which made them think they were about to be lost. The sailors made a vow to go to their church stark naked[127] and Our Lady saved them. Monday, April 2, they set out from the Isla de Çedros in quest of New Spain, as they did not have sufficient supplies to turn about and undertake the discovery of the coast, and arrived in the Puerto de Navidad Saturday, April 14.

Bartolomé Ferrel, chief pilot of the ships, came as captain in place of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, who died at the Isla de la Posesion. There came in the said ships men.[128]

APPENDIX C

Herrera's Account of the Cabrillo Expedition

Don Antonio de Mendoza showed little neglect for affairs of the sea because, notwithstanding the fact that the ships which he had sent to discover the coast of New Spain on the south side had suffered a great deal,[1] he still wished to know what was beyond, and for that purpose ordered two ships made ready, and named as their captain Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, a Portuguese and a person well versed in affairs of the sea.[2] One ship, the *Capitana,* was called the *San Salvador,* and the other the *Vitoria.* Bartolomé Ferrer sailed as chief pilot,[3] and Bartolomé Fernandez also as pilot.[4] The masters were Antonio Carrera[5] and San Remo.[6]

These ships being ready sailed from the Puerto de Navidad June 27 of this year [1542], at midday, and next morning at daybreak were at Cabo de Corrientes in 20½°. Friday, the 30th, running along the coast, they reached 22° 20′. Sunday, July 2, they were in full 24° and reconnoitered the port of the Marqués del Valle called La Cruz, which is [on] the coast of California.[7] On the 8th, they found themselves in 25°, the Punta de la Trinidad. Wednesday, the 19th, they discovered a port in 27° with good shelter which they named "La Madalena," and there they took water. August 20 they found themselves at Cabo del Engaño in 31°. September 14 they anchored at a cape in 33° which they named "La Cruz," a country high and bare, and the bottom in easy sounding distance.

Tuesday, October 10, they discovered some villages of gentle Indians, with whom they traded. They named them "Pueblos de las Canoas" because they had many [canoes]. They are in 35° 20′. Having made but little progress in a few days on account of the too frequent light winds, Wednesday, the 18th, they arrived at a long point, in 36½°, which makes a cape, and as it was long like a galley they named it "Cabo de la Galera."[8] On account of the fresh northwest wind they stood out to sea and discovered two islands, one eight

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1. This without doubt refers to the previous expedition of Francisco de Bolaños. Herrera does not give an account of that expedition nor otherwise refer to it.
2. This seems to be the only positive statement that Cabrillo was a Portuguese, but the failure to say anything about his antecedents in the *Informacion* made by his son rather confirms it, as experience with large numbers of these *Informaciones* points to the fact that when individuals made no reference to the services which their ancestors had rendered to the Spanish Crown, they were usually Portuguese.
3. Ferrelo in the MS, but from the *Informacion* it seems certain his name was Ferrer.
4. Probably Alonso Hernandez. *See* Note 5 to Chap. IV.
5. This was Antonio Correa. *See* Note 6 to Chap. IV.
6. He was probably the Gerónimo San Roman referred to by one of the witnesses in the *Informacion.*
7. It would be interesting to know whether this had been taken from the narrative or whether it is in part an interpolation by Herrera. The Puerto de La Cruz was in Bahia la Paz, and certainly Cabrillo did not go there. The inference, of course, from Herrera's statement would be that the port was a small bay at the southeastern end of the peninsula. In the narrative it is said that they sighted California July 2, and anchored at the Punta de California, obviously the southeast point, on the 3d.
8. The MS is the same except that the cape is said therein to have been in full 36°.

leagues in length, running east and west, and the other four; in the latter they hit upon a small port, but very good. They found them well populated; these people and those on all the coast just left live by fishing. They make beads of fish bones to trade with those on the mainland. They are ten leagues distant from Cabo de la Galera and trend west a quarter northwest.[9] In the eight days that they were in this port they were well treated by the Indians, who go naked and have their faces painted in a checkered fashion. This port they named "Posesion."[10]

Wednesday, the 25th, they sailed from Posesion with a favorable southwest wind, and on the following day the wind came from the south and southwest, with rain and mist, with which they found themselves in distress, as it was an on-shore wind and the bold coast was near. Friday, Saturday, and Sunday, the 29th, they sailed with sudden changes of wind from all quarters, and with much difficulty. Monday and Tuesday, the 31st, they had heavy rains and dark weather. Wednesday, November 1, at midnight while standing off, a heavy northwest gale struck them in which they could not carry an inch of sail, so they returned to Cabo de la Galera where there was good shelter from this wind.

Then on Thursday, the 2d, they went to the Puerto de Sardinas falling off to leeward forty leagues of coast[11] well inhabited with good people. From a place near this port the chiefs came aboard and danced to the sound of a tambourine and a Castilian bagpipe. They slept on board, and meanwhile the boats took on water and wood. Their houses are large, with a gable roof like those in New Spain,[12] and their burial places are surrounded by a board fence. This province they called[13] Sejo. They eat acorns, hazel nuts, and fish, and said that farther on there were people who wore clothing.

Saturday, the 11th, they went on along the coast with a southeast wind, always looking for the Rio de Nuestra Señora, but they did not find it.[14] There was a great range of very high, well-wooded mountains, which they named the "Sierras de San Martin." They are in 37½°, and at the end of them at the northwest a cape extends, in 38°, which they named "Cabo de Martin." Four hours after nightfall the wind commenced to blow strong from the south-southeast and the southwest, with heavy rains and dark weather and so much sea that it broke over them. At dawn it blew so hard that they could not run except with a small sail in the bow. With all this sea, wind and darkness, the ships lost sight of each other. On one ship they threw overboard

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9. The MS has "northeast," an obvious error. It is probable that Herrera referred to the trend of the islands, as here stated, but he used a verb in the singular which would indicate that he meant the mainland.

10. In the *Informacion* called "La Capitana."

11. The forty leagues were probably measured from the position north of Point Conception which they had reached and which was stated in the MS to be in 36½°.

12. *Sp., a dos aguas,* refers to the roofs, those from which water runs off on both sides.

13. *Sp., llamaron,* a word Herrera uses elsewhere as equivalent to "named." Here he means that the natives called the place Sejo.

14. This was the name given the Rio Grande, September 8, 1540, by Hernando de Alvarado. *See* Winship's *Coronado Expedition,* 594.

everything on the deck as the tempest was so severe. In the *Capitana*, finding themselves in such great peril, they made a vow to the Señora del Rosario, and the blessed Mother of Piety in her mercy favored them with a little good weather.

Monday, the 13th, they turned back towards land in search of the other ship, and that night lay to so as not to lose what there was to see and to seek some refuge where they could go or make a landing. A cape runs out into the sea, covered with very tall pine trees; they named it "Cabo de Pinos," and taking the sun they found themselves in 40°. More towards the northwest, where they reconnoitered more than fifteen leagues of coast which trended northwest-southeast, everything was high land. Wednesday, the 15th, they were running along the coast with a northwest wind.[15] It was so cold that they were incapacitated; they found all the mountains covered with snow. In the afternoon they encountered the other ship, everybody very tired, and as she had no covered deck[16] they had thrown overboard everything above deck, and she was making much water.

Friday [Thursday], the 16th, they came to a large *ensenada* which looked like a port, and named it "Baia de Pinos." On the 18th they were hunting a port and discovered some snow-covered mountains with a cape running out from them which they named "Cabo de Nieve." It is in 38° 40′. All the land and coast has one characteristic, that when the northwest wind blows all is clear, without fog or anything else. From 37½° to 40° the coast runs northwest and southeast. As no port was found they had to go back to the Isla de la Posesion, which is one of the San Lucas group, and they arrived there Thursday, November 23. As it was a good port they repaired the small ship, putting her on shore[17] as she was about to go to the bottom. In this port they remained until the end of December, on account of the bad weather. There was much cold weather, and snow, even close to the sea, rain, and dark weather. The violent southwest storm continuing, there was so much surf that, although in a closed port, it happened that there were three or four days during which no one could go ashore. Finally, Friday, January 19, 1543, with great labor they reached the Puerto de Sardinas, which they left February 14;[18] and Monday, the 26th, they went to a point which makes a cape, which they named "Cabo de Fortunas,"[19] on account of the many [perils] they had en-

15. Therefore, evidently, south, as can also be inferred from the MS.

16. *Sp., puente.* A *puente* was a deck which covered rooms or a compartment and when a ship was said to have a *puente,* it implied that there were some covered cabins in it, which naturally afforded a protection against the weather. The *cubierta* was nothing but a deck with nothing under it except what might be called the hold.

17. *Sp., le pusieron a monte.* What is meant is drawing the ship on shore to make thorough repairs or for other reasons. The operation is different from careening, which simply involves pulling a vessel into a shoal water and turning her first on one side and then on the other.

18. Herrera neglects to state that after going to the Puerto de Sardinas on the 19th, they returned to the Isla de la Posesion on the 27th, and again went to the Puerto de Sardinas, which they finally left February 14.

19. This name does not occur in the MS, but it seems obvious that it was named at that time. Its first appearance on a map to my knowledge is on the Peter Plancius map of 1592, but there are earlier references to it in Spanish documents. The only copy of the

countered in recent days. It is in 41°. From February 27 to Thursday, March 1, they encountered a very great series of perils, and the greatest of all on the night of that day. When day dawned they returned thanks to Our Lady and her blessed Son for having escaped from such a dark and terrible night, for during the day the storm was not felt so much. The weather having cleared, March 1 they took the sun in 44°.[20] It was so cold that they froze. Saturday, the 3d, they returned to see again Cabo de Pinos, but on account of strong winds had to run once more to the Isla de la Posesion, which they reached on the 5th. On account of the heavy breakers at the entrance of the port they went for shelter to the south-southeast side of the Isla de San Sebastian.[21] That night the *Capitana* disappeared,[22] and in five days ran 200 leagues with only the lower foresails. Now there was nothing to eat but rotten biscuit, and this was given in rations of a pound each.

Thursday, the 8th, they left the Puerto de San Sebastian in search of the other ship, and all the men made a written demand[23] to return to New Spain, as there was nothing to eat. As they were right, they took the return route seeking their consort, and fell in with her at the Isla de Cedros on the 26th. Saturday, April 14, they reached the Puerto de Navidad on their return voyage, filled with sadness as their captain, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, had died of sickness, a good man and well versed in navigation.

The sailors said that for this coast large ships of 200 tons are necessary, very strong and well equipped with sails, tackle, and cables, and that the sails should be Castilian as those of the country tear apart at every instant. Much food should be carried and no Indians, because on the voyage they are of no use and consume food.[24]

Finally these ships went up to 44°.[25]

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map known now in Valencia, Spain, has recently been magnificently reproduced by Dr. F. C. Wieder in his *Monumenta Cartographica*. The one published in Jan Huygen van Linschoten's *Itinerario* in 1596 under Plancius' name also shows the cape in the same location, that is, above Cabo Mendocino in nearly 50° From the location and the lack of other names given by Cabrillo, this Cabo de Fortuna may not have been his.

20. Not mentioned in the MS, but later it is said that during this storm they thought they must have been in 44°.

21. That is, the Island of Santa Cruz. If any other evidence were needed, this is sufficient to establish the fact that the "S. S." in the MS improperly written out by Navarrete as "San Salvador," really stood for San Sebastian. The harbor was no doubt Smuggler's Cove.

22. From this it would appear that the writer of the narrative was now on the *Victoria,* the smaller ship, and was therefore not Ferrer.

23. *Sp., requerimiento.* There is no English word quite corresponding in meaning to it. A "written demand" would be the nearest. A *requerimiento* when made at sea was a demand made by the crew on the captain before the *escribano* on board the ship. The chief object seems to have been to absolve the captain for not carrying out the letter of his instructions.

24. This is a plain indication that Cabrillo had some Indians possibly to act as interpreters, but as appears here, they found no Indians whom they could understand.

25. Translated from *Historia general de los hechos de los Castellanos, etc.,* by Antonio de Herrera, Madrid, 1601-1615. The account occurs in *Dec.* VII, *Lib.* V, *Cap.* III-IV. Herrera's dates and degrees of latitude agree with those in the principal narrative except where herein noted.

APPENDIX D

Lopez de Gomara's Description of the Northwest Coast

They put 100 leagues from Tehuantepec to Colima in which are Acapulco and Zacatula. From Colima it is another 100 leagues to Cabo de Corrientes, in 20°, in which is the Puerto de Navidad. From Corrientes to the Puerto de Chiametlan, through which passes the Tropic of Cancer, it is 60 leagues, and along this coast are the Puerto de Xalisco and the Puerto de Banderas. From Chiametlan it is 250 leagues to the Estero Hondo, or Rio de Miraflores, almost in 33°; and in these 250 leagues are the Rio de San Miguel, El Guaiaval, the Puerto del Remedio, Cabo Bermejo, Puerto de Puertos, and Puerto del Pasaje. From Miraflores it is another 220 leagues to the Punta de Ballenas, which others call "California," passing by Puerto Escondido, Belen, Puerto de Fuegos, and Baia de Canoas and Isla de Perlas. Punta de Ballenas is under the Tropic, and 80 leagues from Cabo de Corrientes; between them enters this Sea of Cortés, which resembles the Adriatic; it is somewhat reddish, and as it is so well known, we say no more about it.

From the Punta de Ballenas there are 100 leagues of coast to the Baia de Abad, and from there it is as many more to Cabo del Engaño, which is 30½° removed from the Equator. Some put down more leagues from Abad to Engaño, but I follow the common opinion. From Cabo del Engaño to Cabo de la Cruz it is 50 leagues, and from Cabo de la Cruz 110 leagues of coast to Puerto de Sardinas in 36°. Along this coast are Ancon de San Miguel, Baia de los Fuegos, and Costa Blanca. From the Sardinas to Sierras Nevadas, it is 150 leagues, passing by Puerto de Todos Santos, Cabo de Galera, Cabo Nevado, and Baia de Los Primeros. Sierras Nevadas are in 40°, and the last country marked out and graduated in that direction, although the coast still continues to the north to where it closes the country as an island at Labrador or at Gruntlandia. In this last stretch of country there are 510 leagues. The coast line of the Indies in what has been discovered and here put down measures point to point 9,300 and more leagues, 3,375 being in the South Sea, and the other 5,960 in our sea which we call the North Sea. . . . .

The account which I give of the number of leagues and degrees is according to the maps of the royal cosmographers. These do not receive or put down the account of any pilot except under oath or without witnesses. I must also say that there are many other islands and lands in the world besides those we have named. One of these is the land of the Strait of Magellan, which runs towards the east and according to appearance is very large, and extends close to the Antarctic Pole. They think that on one side it reaches almost to the Cape of Good Hope, and on the other to the Moluccas, because the ships of the viceroy Don Antonio de Mendoza encountered a land of negroes which extended for 500 leagues, and they were of the opinion that this was a continuation of that of the strait just referred to.[1]

1. Translated from *Historia de las Indias,* Vol. I of Vedia's Edition, 164.

NOTES TO CHAPTER IV

Bibliographical Note

Our knowledge of the expedition of Cabrillo is derived from four sources: the account in the Archivo de Indias in 1-1-1/20, R. 23; that published by Antonio de Herrera in 1615 in his *Historia General;* the *Informacion* drawn up in Guatemala in 1560 and 1561 at the instance of Cabrillo's son; and a short description of the west coast by Francisco Lopez de Gómara, published in 1552 in his *Historia de las Indias.* The last named author makes but the slightest allusion to the voyage in his *Conquista de Mexico,* not even mentioning Cabrillo's name, and writing as though the voyage were too well known to warrant insertion.

From the fact that the document in the archives has "J^{u} Paez" written at the top of the first page many have supposed that the account was written by a man of that name, and indeed such a statement was made when it was printed in 1870 in Vol. XIV of the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos.* The same name also appears, however, at the top of the first page of an account of the Coronado expedition written by Juan Jaramillo. The probabilities are that J^{u} Paez was Juan Paez de Castro, the official chronicler of the Indies about 1555-1560, and that these documents, which he intended to use for writing a history of the Indies, had been found among his papers after his death. There is a strong indication that the Cabrillo document was to be used for that purpose in the notation at the upper left hand corner—*Para el año de 1543,* that is, "for the year 1543." The manuscript is written almost entirely in the third person, a practice not followed in any original narrative of an early voyage which the writer has seen. This is almost proof that it is merely a summary of what was probably a long detailed account. In making this, some facts were omitted which Herrera, who probably had the original, thought interesting enough to insert in his book.

A copy of the document made by Juan Bautista Muñoz is now in the Real Academia de Historia in Madrid and another, made by Martin Fernandez de Navarrete shortly afterwards, is to be found in Vol. 19 of his manuscripts in the Depósito Hidrográfico in Madrid. From this latter copy Buckingham Smith made the first publication in 1857 in his *Coleccion de varios documentos.* Generally speaking, Navarrete's copy is a very accurate one, as is that published by Smith. Navarrete, however, made one blunder which has misled all subsequent students of the voyage. He wrote out the name "S. S." of one of the Channel Islands as "San Salvador." If anyone had compared this account with that given by Herrera, he would have seen that the "S. S." stood for San Sebastian, named on his day, January 20. Navarrete gave his copy a title, as the original had only a notation, and when it was again printed in the *Coleccion de documentos inéditos,* this time from the original in the archives,

the editor supplied it with a different one. As usual with the publications in this collection at that period the text was printed with great carelessness.

In the Introduction to the voyage of the *Sutil* and *Mexicana,* published in 1802, Navarrete inserted a good account of the voyage from the original text and that of Herrera, and from this, A. S. Taylor, well known as an early student of California history, made a translation which he published in the San Franciso *Herald* in 1853, subsequently issuing it in separate form as *Discovery of California and Northwest America. The First Voyage to the Coasts of California; made in the years 1542 and 1543 by Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo and his pilot Bartolome Ferrelo,* San Francisco, 1853. In Vol. VII of the U. S. Geographical Survey of 1879 a complete translation from Smith's text by Richard Stuart Evans was published with an introductory article by H. W. Henshaw. Notes were attached to the translation in which Lt. Commander H. C. Taylor attempted to identify the places mentioned. Evans' translation was republished with some corrections in Washington, 1886, by Professor George C. Davidson, in the report of the superintendent of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey as *An Examination of some of the Early Voyages of Discovery and Exploration on the Northwest Coast of America from 1539-1603.* With this, Professor Davidson published a map and also identified the places named by Cabrillo, his conclusions being still usually accepted as final authority. In 1916 Dr. Herbert E. Bolton published a new translation of Smith's text in *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest.* In identifying the various places mentioned he adopted in the main the conclusions of Professor Davidson.

The writer recently obtained from the archives in Seville a copy of a document in 1-4-34/3 No. 2 R. 4, which contains the proceedings before the Audiencia in Guatemala in 1617-18 taken by Gerónimo Rodriguez de Aldana, the grandson of Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo, to secure some remuneration in view of the services of his distinguished ancestor. It is what was called at the time an *Informacion,* and contains a certified copy of another similar investigation which had been made in 1560 before the same Audiencia at the instance of Cabrillo's son, who was also named Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo. A number of witnesses testified at this investigation, some of whom had known Cabrillo since he first came to Mexico with Pánfilo de Narvaez. Others who knew him later were the Bishop of Guatemala, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, and Alvaro de Paz, who had been Alvarado's major-domo. Two, Lázaro de Cárdenas and Francisco de Vargas, had accompanied him on his expedition. Their evidence is reproduced hereafter and, although their stories are very circumstantial, they may be said to be of uncertain value as they differ in some important respects from the text of the voyage and that of Herrera, and also from each other. Thirty-five interrogatories were put to the witnesses, and these contain no doubt the sum and substance of what the petitioner knew about his father's career. As both Cárdenas and Vargas reiterated almost entirely what was stated in the interrogatories regarding the voyage, it may be taken for granted that Cabrillo's son already possessed the same information. Interrogatory No. 23 was as fol-

lows: "If they know that after Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo died they all returned to Navidad from the Isla del Capitan, as there was no captain or head to govern the fleet, in order to give an account to the Viceroy of all that had happened." Cárdenas in answering this stated that it was the fact and that he had given an account and *Relacion* of all that had occurred to the Viceroy. The use of the word *relacion,* which usually meant a written account, would appear to indicate that he was perhaps the author of the one from which the summary in the archives was taken.

Cartographical Note

The lack of a map of the northwest coast made by Cabrillo, or which can be considered as having been copied from one of his, is a serious drawback to any convincing identification of the places he named on that coast. Those which were published subsequent to the voyage for many years and others which were circulated in manuscript, contain only Gómara's names, almost proof that they were drawn from his published narrative. There is just a slight possibility, however, that the configuration of the coast delineated on Plates V and VI may have been copied from some map emanating from the *Casa de Contratacion,* as it is much like the description of it given in the narrative translated herewith. The "Bahia de los Primieros" (error for Pinos) shown on Plate V looks surprisingly like Monterey Bay, with which it has been identified by the writer, and there are other points of resemblance. It was not until 1592 that any of Cabrillo's names not found in that book appear on a map. In that year the famous Molyneux globe was produced in London, on which, singularly enough, two of Cabrillo's names on the Lower California coast are to be found which had not previously appeared on the maps. Not only is there a total lack of authentic maps of Cabrillo's discoveries but there is also a singular failure to mention the voyage in the correspondence or instructions regarding later voyages to the coast, or in the narratives written by those who conducted such enterprises. The pilots of Lopez de Legaspi in 1565 seem to have been the only ones to mention any places named by him. His names do not appear even on seventeenth century maps of Spanish origin, except his Isla de San Agustin, and this was more generally known as Cenizas. No further detailed examination of the coast was made, so far as known, until 1602-1603, when Sebastian Vizcaino went over practically the same ground. He applied a new set of names to nearly all the places he visited and these have largely survived to the present day.

It seems possible that about 1550 the Spanish authorities inaugurated the policy of suppressing cartographical information which presumably might be of use to the enemies of their country. At the end of the century, Rodrigo Zamorano, the cosmographer in Seville, in denouncing one Vigliaruolo, a Neapolitan and chief cosmographer in Seville, who had fled to France in 1596 with some maps, said that some of them were secret ones of the navigation of the Indies. (*Los trabajos geográficos de la Casa de Contratacion* by Manuel de la Punta y Olea, Seville, 1900, page 87.) It is obvious from this that there

were then at Seville two kinds of maps, one for general use and another which contained details of discoveries which were not essential for navigation of Spanish vessels on the ordinary routes. The writer has not been able to discover any Spanish map made between 1551 and 1601 which shows more than Ulloa's discoveries. In the former year Sancho Gutierrez produced a large world map which so far as the northwest coast is concerned, is similar to the Cabot planisphere of 1544. In 1601 Herrera published a map of America in his *Descripcion de las Indias Occidentales* in which the coast is drawn as far north as 45°, where it turns northeast. One name appears on this coast, "C. de Fortun," in about 41°. The configuration of the coast is not such as to inspire much confidence that it was drawn from any actual map showing Cabrillo's discoveries. Another possible reason suggests itself for the failure of the Spaniards to make use of Cabrillo's map. We shall see hereafter that the *San Pedro* carried one or more of his maps on her return voyage in 1565. The observations of the pilots of the *San Pedro* were very nearly correct in the latitude of 35°, whereas those of Cabrillo in that neighborhood were over one degree in error. The *San Pedro's* pilots were consequently unable to locate themselves from his maps and their report that they were incorrect may have induced the cosmographers in Seville to discard them.

PLATE III

From the original, slightly reduced, of a crude woodcut map in the first edition of Francisco Lopez de Gómara's *Historia de las Indias* published in Zaragoza in 1552. It is of the greatest rarity, being found only in a few copies of the book, and was not reprinted in the editions published in 1553 and 1554. It has been alleged that the map was suppressed but there is nothing about its appearance to suggest any good reason for such action. It does not even conform to Gómara's cosmographical ideas as set out in the last paragraph of his account of the northwest coast, translated in Appendix D. It is obviously not a copy of any map in the *Casa de Contratacion* depicting the results of Cabrillo's voyage, but has the appearance of having been sketched from one depicting the discoveries of Ulloa, the idea being to illustrate the views then current in Spain of the general trend of the northwest coast.

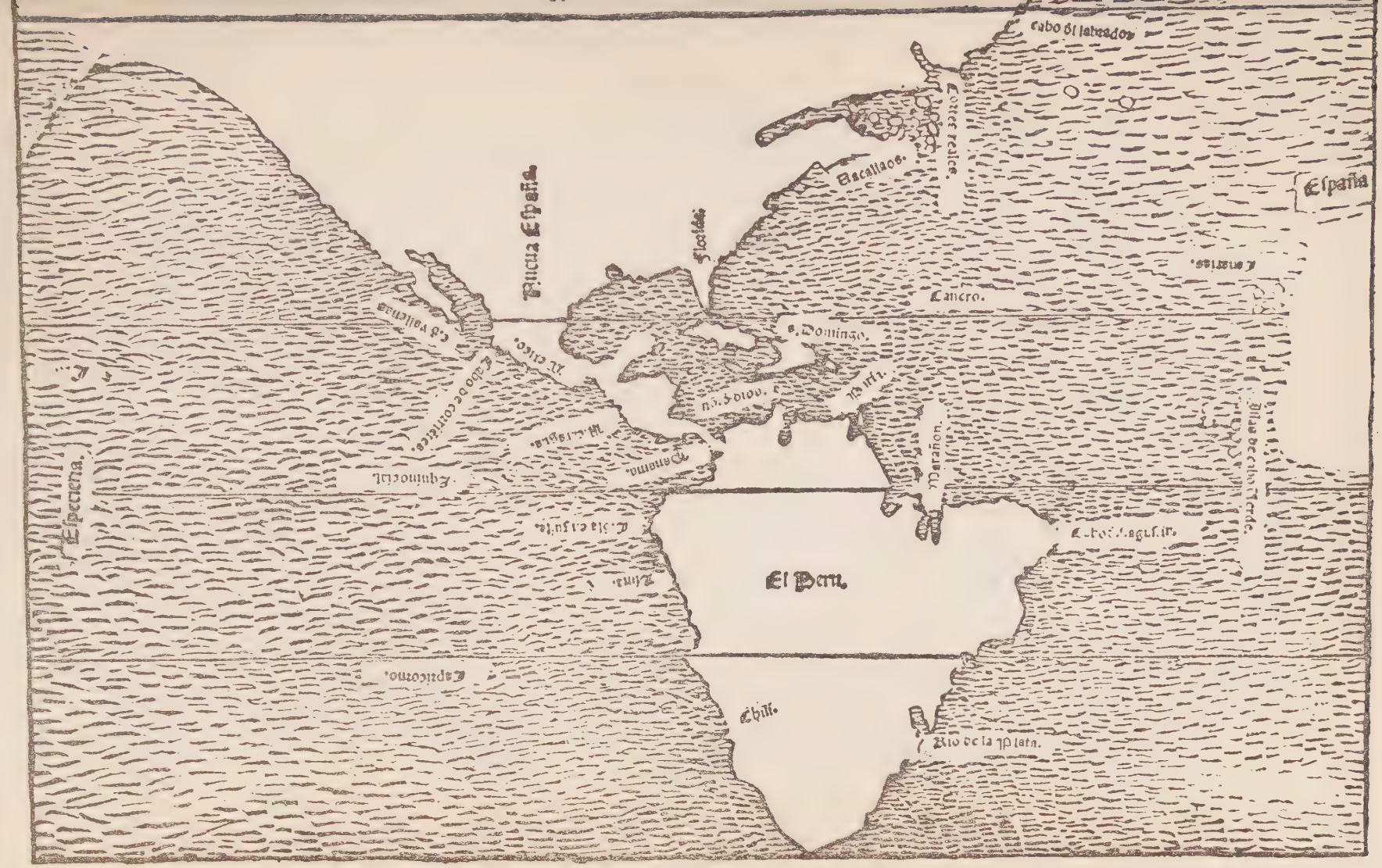
cabo bl labrador
Bacallaos.
Terra rasa.
España
Tierra Española
Florida.
Cancro.
S. Domingo.
Marañon.
El Perú.
Chili.
Rio de la Plata.

PLATE III

PLATE IV

From the original, somewhat reduced, of a woodcut map published in Vol. III of Ramusio's *Navigationi* in Venice, 1566. It was probably made by Giacomo Gastaldi about 1553, undoubtedly from the accounts given by Gómara of the northwest coast, of the Coronado expedition to New Mexico and perhaps of Ulloa's voyage, and was obviously inserted in the book to illustrate Gómara's geographical ideas. From the configuration of the coast, it would appear that Gastaldi had seen no map showing the result of Cabrillo's voyage. Only two names appear on it: "y^{a}. di Cedri" and "Sierra Nevadas," the last above the point where the land ends. The map conforms in no respect to those of Gastaldi which were published in 1548 in the Italian edition of Ptolemy, nor to those which he made later.

POLO ARTICO
CIRCOLO ARTICO.
TERRA DEL LABORADOR
TERRA DE BACALAOS
Orbelande
Irlanda
Bristi
Mon
MARE OCEANO
Y ajos
Stretto de Gibilltera
Canore
Sierra Nevados
Quivira
Cucho
Cicuch
Axa
Tiguas
Cibola
LA NOVA SPAGNA
LA FLORIDA
la bermuda
Gropaire
CIRCOLO DI CANCRO
PARTE DI C. Verde AFRICA
y di capo Verde
S. Tomas
MAR DEL NORT
NICARAGUA
Panama
S. Bortolameo
Rocca partida
MAR DEL SUR
EQUINOTTIALE
Gillolo
S. michiel
EL PERV
Rio Marragnon
S. agustin
SIL
Arequipa
Cusco
Chincha
CIRCOLO DI CAPRICORNO
CHILI
Chili
C. hermoso
MARE OCEANO
Stretto d. Fernando Magaglianes
CIRCOLO ANTARTICO
POLO ANTARTICO
LEVANTE

PLATE IV.

PLATE V

From a photograph, slightly reduced, of a manuscript map in a portolan atlas in the Ayer Collection in the Newberry Library, Chicago. There is an almost identical map in a portolan atlas in the Library of the University of Bologna, Italy, which was reproduced by Konrad Kretschmer, who dated it after 1554, as Plate No. XXV in his *Die Entdeckung Amerika's,* Berlin 1892 (reproduced by Winship in his *Coronado Expedition*). In both atlases there are maps which resemble those of Battista Agnese of 1543 and they are therefore usually attributed to him. Gómara's names only are used on the northwest coast and the legend in the ocean at about the fortieth parallel of latitude and the mountains opposite to it on the Ayer map, indicate that his book furnished the data for it. If Agnese made the map it is not likely that he did so before 1559, as in that year he was still producing maps of this coast similar to those published by the writer with his account of the Ulloa voyage.

Fin qui scoperse Franc° Vasquez de Coronado
Naue del catayo
over china
MARE INCOGNITO
Quiuira
cichuich
Axa
Tiguex
Cuco
Sierra nevada
Bain de los primeros
C. nevados
C. galera
P. de todos santo
P. sardinas
costa bianca
P. de burro
Cinola della Granata
CHICHIMECAS
Bocas de los fuegos
Ancon de S. Michiel
Bocca della cruz
del riparo
di cedri
MAR VERMIGLIO
P. del passo
P. dipor
de S. mi chiel
Brauo
P. pauico
Rasso
GOLFO MEXICANO
P. de thiumetha
Chiumetla
P. de baderas
PROV. DE XALISCO
MEXICO
TEMISTITAN
P. de xalisco
P. della uera cruz
V. de arenas
P. della natiuita
tulla
Atacuba
R. aluarado
P. Quaxalcolco
C. Rosendo
C. Iucatan
P. Sanduan
C. delle corente
cacatulla
colima
zacatulla
Acapulco
Tecoanto
P. de S. iuan
PROV. DE NICARA
Nuargua
C. Bruco
P. Bersa
La perlas
R. della croce
S. Bartholameo
Scala de Miglia 700
MAR DEL SVR

CORVS
Ponente
maestro.
Ouestnord
West
CIRCIVS
Maestrade
Nord
nord
West.
OCCIDENS
Ponente.
West.
ZONA TORRIDA
ZONA TEMPERATA
ARCHIPELAGO
DI S. LAZARO
NOVA GVINEA

Plate VI

PLATE VI

From a photograph, somewhat reduced, of a section of a very large map in the British Museum published in Antwerp in 1564 by Gerard de Jode, entitled *Nova Totius Terrarum Orbis Juxta Neo-Tericorum Traditiones Descriptio.* It contains an inscription ascribing it to Abraham Ortelius and follows in most cases the nomenclature of the Agnese map (Plate V), although not a copy of it, the errors in that map, especially in the sequence of names, having been corrected. The Cazones are shown as an island separate either from Cedros or Natividad and located about where San Clemente is to be found. There are a few of Ulloa's names on the map, which seem to have been taken from an earlier one of Agnese's, one of these being misplaced. The latitudes are some five or more degrees higher than those of the Agnese map and even higher than those given in the Cabrillo account. Gómara's "Primieros" still sticks and it was not until 1587 that in another Ortelius map, *Typus Orbis Terrarum,* this was changed to its correct form "Pinos" (Pinas on the map).

The origin of this map is a matter of conjecture, beyond the obvious fact that it was drawn from some Italian model. In the writer's *Some Imaginary California Geography,* page 17, the opinion was hazarded that it might have been derived from one made by Gastaldi to illustrate the views which he set out in 1562 in *La Universale Descrittione del Mondo.* On page 10 of the same pamphlet it was also suggested that the map might have been constructed from two maps made by Diego Gutierrez, only one of which, that engraved in Amsterdam in 1562 by Hieronymus Cock, is extant. In other words, Ortelius obtained his data from some Italian map which had been drawn from the Spanish maps of Gutierrez to which additions were made. The writer has discussed the whole matter of the connection of the various maps here described at some length in the paper above mentioned.

Since writing the above the writer has received a copy of Vol. II of Professor G. Caraci's *Tabulae Geographicae Vetustiores,* in which this theory is criticized. A fresh examination of the maps in question in the light of Professor Caraci's remarks convinces the writer that he was mistaken in suggesting that the maps of Gutierrez might have furnished the information from which Ortelius drew this map (or whoever did draw it). The slight points of resemblance between the Gutierrez map of 1562 and that of Ortelius are not sufficient to warrant the conclusion then arrived at. This being the case, it is useless to enter into any argument regarding a supposed map of Gutierrez, not now extant, on which the Peninsula of California and the northwest coast were shown. That Gutierrez, however, was perfectly aware of the discoveries on that coast made by Ulloa at least, is apparent from the fact that Ulloa's names on the gulf appear on his 1562 map.

Notes

1. P. & C. III, 368.
2. *Cartas de Indias,* No. XLV.
3. *See* Diaz del Castillo's cancelled note about him to the effect that he was a good soldier, afterwards a resident of Guatemala and captain and *almirante* of thirteen ships of Alvarado. *Historia* I, 475, ed. of Genaro Garcia.
4. The *Informacion* seems to afford conclusive evidence that this man's name was Ferrer as given by Herrera, and not Ferrelo, as it appears in the summary of the account of the expedition. His name was probably Ferrera, an Italian name.
5. One of the witnesses in 1560 called him Lorenzo Hernandez Barreda, and perhaps that was his name. Vargas, another, said that some of the pilots had been in the Moluccas.
6. Herrera called him Carrera, but Correa was his name. *See* his declaration in Icaza, *Dicc.* No. 1354. He was also a Portuguese.
7. No doubt the man called Remo by Herrera.
8. As Franciscans had accompanied all of Cortés' expeditions, it is natural to suppose that this chaplain was also one, but the failure of the Franciscan chroniclers to more than mention the expedition creates some doubt about it.
9. P. & C., XV, 18.
10. These facts regarding Cabrillo have been gathered from the testimony of various witnesses in the investigation of 1560 and later, embodied in the *Informacion* of 1617-18.
11. Mendoza in 48-1-2/24, fol. 63 *recto,* and Herrera in his *Historia, Dec.* VII, *Lib.* IX, *Cap.* XX. Herrera chronicles the capture as in 1544.
12. *California Farmer* of August 21, 1863.
13. *Handbook of the Indians of California,* Washington, 1925, pp. 552 *et seq.* Father Zephyrin Engelhardt in his work on the Santa Barbara Mission, San Francisco, 1923, gives a long list of names of native rancherias taken from the baptismal registers. Many of these are very similar to Cabrillo names, but as the locations of the rancherias are not given identifications are impossible.
14. Dr. W. R. Livingston of Oxnard, who has made excavations in the vicinity, tells me that there are sites of probably six villages east of Mugu Lagoon. The largest was about two miles inland on a hillside a thousand feet from a living spring of fine water. Dr. Livingston also tells me that in his time Mugu Lagoon has filled up to a very great extent. Originally it was a large body of water and the probabilities are that it extended in the sixteenth century to the foot of the hills on which the principal Chumash town was located. Indeed, it is possible that at that time it was open ocean at that point, the lagoon not having formed. Dr. Livingston states that at one time the Santa Clara River emptied into the ocean in this neighborhood, the old channel being still plainly visible.
15. The town may have been far enough up the narrow canyon not to have been visible from the sea, while those near Mugu Lagoon must have been in plain sight.
16. In *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest,* New York, 1916.
17. The development of Professor Davidson's views on these questions can be seen in various editions of the *Directory for the Pacific.* The first edition was published in 1858, the second in 1862, the third as the *Coast Pilot of California,* etc., 1869, and the fourth in 1886. As late as 1869 he considered Bahia de los Pinos to have been Monterey Bay and the *Cabo* in 40° (Cabo de Pinos) to have been Point Reyes. He thought that Cabrillo had named this Cabo Mendocino. He identified the Bahia de Fuegos as San Pedro Bay, thought that Cabrillo had visited Santa Barbara, where the Pueblo de las Canoas was located, and considered the Puerto de Todos Santos to have been San Luis Obispo Bay.
18. Professor Davidson probably based this identification on Herrera's map on which he says Cabo de Fortunas appears in 43°, and on a statement in Juan de Torquemada's *Monarchia Indiana,* I, 693, that Mendoza's ship when returning from the Philippines had discovered Cabo Mendocino. (*See* Professor Davidson's views on this subject in *Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America,* in *Transactions* of the Geographical Society of the Pacific, 1908, pp. 6 and 7.) In the first place, C. de fortun on Herrera's map appears to the writer to be in 41°, where he said it was, and not in 43°, and in the second place Torquemada was mistaken. He took his statement from the account of the Vizcaino voyage by Father Antonio de la Ascension, who was sadly mixed about the preceding voyages to this coast. He apparently derived his ideas about Mendoza's ships discovering the cape on their return from Juan Gaytan's fable published by Ramusio, as will be seen in a following chapter. Gaytan stated that one of the ships of Ruy Lopez de Villalobos which went to the Moluccas in 1542 returned to New Spain. There is no other evidence whatever that such was the case and even if the statement were true there is no likelihood that the ship ever saw the northwest coast of America.
19. The Sacramento River of course is a great river and if Cabrillo had seen the mouth of it there can be hardly any doubt but that he would have explored it. It seems

probable, however, that he passed Point Reyes at some distance at sea as no mention occurs of the Farallons. It is not impossible, however, that he saw these and did mention them but the person who made the summary omitted them as being of no importance.

20. *See* Note 37 to Chapter II, this *Quarterly*, Vol. VI, No. 4, p. 322.

21. No doubt Cabo Pulmo or in that neighborhood, as it is clear that his Punta was not another name for Cabo de San Lucas as it was afterward considered to be. The first appearance of the name California on a map occurs on that of Diego Gutierrez of 1562 in that neighborhood. Herrera states that they reached Cabo Corrientes on the morning of the 28th, and on July 2 sighted the Puerto del Marqués del Valle called La Cruz. From this statement it would appear that there was some small bay called after Cortés near Cabo Pulmo.

22. This port, directly under Cabo San Lucas and in latitude 22° 52′, was probably discovered by Cortés, as it plainly appears on the map attached to the act of taking possession of Santa Cruz on May 3, 1535. The name which it still bears was almost certainly given by Bolaños on San Lucas' day, October 18, 1541.

23. *Sp., fondable,* a word much in use in this document and other accounts of exploration in the sixteenth century. It always seems to mean "of reasonable depth for anchoring."

24. It is impossible to say whether the "5" is an error for "50," "45" or "35." According to Davidson the distance is 43 leagues. They were here at the anchorage under Punta Tosco, in 24° 17′—error, 43′, which Ulloa named Punta de la Trinidad on December 2, 1540; he also placed it in 25°.

If Cabrillo used the Spanish marine league of seventeen and one-half to a degree, that is, about four geographical miles each, he very much exaggerated the distances. His league hardly ever seems to have been more than about two and one-half miles long, if we compare the distances he measures from one known place to another with the actual ones.

25. *Sp., requesta,* usually translated as "without any irregularity," but the word does not have that meaning. As used at that time it meant "reefs" or "shoals to be looked out for."

26. The water which Ulloa found was on the east side of the island, some little distance north of the port.

27. Almost certainly so named by Bolaños on that Saint's day, October 23, 1541. Ulloa discovered the entrance October 5, 1541, but did not pass in. He apparently named it the "Baia de Abad," after San Sabás Abad. It is now known as "Bahia de la Magdalena" in 24° 32′—error, 58′. Bolaños must have remained in it some little time, and no doubt it was from his account that Cabrillo obtained the information that neither water nor wood was to be found there.

28. Usually translated "gulf" or "bay." Perhaps the first is the more nearly correct, but *ensenada* usually at that time meant a body of water of greater length than width, without protection from storms.

29. Cabo San Lázaro, in 24° 48′—error, 1° 12′.

30. This is a good description of the coast north of Cabo San Lázaro for a long distance.

31. Probably the bay east of Punta San Juanico, or possibly Punta Pequeña as identified by Henshaw and Davidson. Punta San Juanico is in 26° 03′—error, 57′. Cabrillo does not say that the port was in 27°, but that might be a proper inference. The day of Santa Maria Magdalena is July 22.

32. This name had also probably been given by Bolaños, November 11, 1541; the bay seems to have been the one now known as Santa Maria, just north of the entrance to Bahia de la Magdalena.

33. *Sp., ruines,* a word in frequent use in the narrative. It might best be translated by the slang expression "rotten."

34. So named by Bolaños, November 25, 1541, and no doubt Punta San Domingo in 26° 29′, 26 miles from Punta San Juanico.

35. Bahia de Ballenas in 26° 45′—error, 45′. Perhaps named after the Apostle Santiago whose day it was, although it may have been given by Bolaños, as he must have been there on the Martyr Santiago's day, November 27. The "San Mateo" of Ladrillero is probably an error for "Santiago."

36. This is probably an error for the Puerto de Santiago, as the rocks are actually about twelve or thirteen miles from the anchorage at the head of Bahia de Ballenas.

37. Still known by the same name and in latitude 26° 46′—error, 44′. It is probable that Bolaños gave them this name, his voyage to the north ending here.

38. Named after the Saint whose day was July 26. The island must have been San Roque, as Isla Asuncion is less than a mile from shore. In this case, the point and bay must have been Punta and Bahia de San Roque and not Bahia Asuncion as identified by Davidson. The first sentence in which the first person is used.

39. Although the distance from Punta San Roque to Bahia de San Pablo, in 27° 11′, is not six leagues, yet by reference to the distance given later from this bay to Puerto de San Bartolomé, eighteen leagues, it seems obvious that the anchorage was in Bahia de San Pablo.

40. Puerto de San Bartolomé in 27° 39′—error, 51′. This San Pedro's day is August 1.

41. This is the second time in the narrative that the first person is used, and this same expression, "We have not seen an Indian," with some variations, occurs hereafter several times.

42. This is the island now known as Natividad, in 27° 53′. It was discovered by Ulloa, who called the group the "Islas de San Esteban," a curious coincidence although the saints were different, Cabrillo's of August 3 being Saint Stephen the Pope, and Ulloa's Saint Stephen the Apostle, he having discovered the islands December 26, 1540, or January 2 or 3, 1541, probably the latter.

43. It is doubtful whether this sentence refers to the coast of the island or the coast of the mainland, but from the following sentence probably the latter was meant.

44. That is, the great Bahia de Sebastian Vizcaino.

45. That is, kelp, and so referred to hereafter.

46. Actually in 28° 02′—error, 58′. The island was called "Cedros" by Ulloa, who discovered it, on account of some cedar trees on a mountain at the north end of the island. At the time of the Vizcaino expedition in 1602 the name became changed to "Cerros," probably through an error in copying the name.

47. Whose day was August 12. The port was identified by Henshaw and Davidson as Bahia Playa Maria in 28° 55′—error, 1°.

48. This point was identified as Punta Canoas in 29° 25′ by Henshaw and Davidson, but it is more probable that it was Bluff Point in 29° 34′—error, 56′.

49. Whose day was August 20. It was San Gerónimo in 29° 48′—error, 52′. In transcribing the MS for Navarrete, an error was made in the latitude of this island, making it read 30½°; this was so copied by Smith and in consequence will be so found in all previous translations.

50. By reference to what follows it appears that this Punta del Engaño was what is now known as Punta Baja in 29° 56′—error, 1° 4′, although it is not seven leagues from San Gerónimo but only a little over nine miles. The name was no doubt a variation of the Cabo del Engaño as it appeared upon the maps which showed the results of Ulloa's voyage, but as its location on these differs and there is no mention of it in any account of his voyage, it is quite impossible to say where it was. There is no evidence that Cabrillo had any account of Ulloa's voyage, but his map must have shown the Cabo del Engaño or Punta del Engaño.

51. The second time that this phrase appears.

52. *Sp., poniendoles a monte.* This expression has caused the translators all kinds of trouble, resulting in some ridiculous versions. The expression was a common one at the time, and meant to "lay a ship on shore in some kind of temporary stocks for repair or for other reasons."

53. No doubt Puerto San Quentin in 30° 24′—error, 1° 6′. Cabrillo was now beyond the farthest discovery of Ulloa, so far as known, and began to take possession of the country in accordance with his instructions.

54. There is a blank here which was probably filled with *brazos* or some similar word.

55. The saline is still there.

56. This Indian story, which was repeated several times afterwards farther north, appears here to point to the Spaniards of the Ulloa expedition, as they had dogs.

57. This word seems to be an error for *cotaras,* which Dr. Bolton states in his translation were a kind of Indian footwear, or sometimes Indian clothing in general. *Cotaras* frequently occurs in the *Relacion de las Ceremonias y Ritos y Poblacion..... de la Provincia de Mechuacan,* published in Morelia in 1904, but only in one case might it be deduced that the article was "footwear." When the messengers from Montezuma came to Mechuacan to try to get aid against the Spaniards they described the horses as *venados (que) traen calzado cotaras de yerro,* page 81. That is to say, they had iron shoes, no doubt a reference to their horseshoes.

58. Whose day is August 28. The island is now known as San Martin and is in 30° 29′, although that island is not two leagues in circumference. It was afterwards called "Cenizas" on account of the ashy appearance of the soil. Cermeño, who was at this island in December, 1595, said it was eight or nine leagues long and four wide. It was then inhabited. He placed it in 31½°.

59. Probably horns of mountain sheep.

60. The accumulation of driftwood on this island was noticed by later visitors.

61. This seems to have been Bahia San Ramon in 30° 49′. The fields of kelp are still there.

62. In the MS this name is written "s. m.," undoubtedly intended for Santa Maria. In the next paragraph the cape is referred to as "s. min.," that is, San Martin. This is an obvious error, as the day the cape was named was the natal day of the Virgin Mary and on such a day Cabrillo certainly would never have called the cape "San Martin." In the Navarrete copy, printed by Smith, the name was written out in the first place, "San Martin," and as such it appears in all previous translations. That the name given was Santa Maria further appears from the Molyneux globe which shows this name in this locality. After leaving Bahia San Ramon the next places named are extremely difficult to identify. It would certainly seem as if Cabo Santa Maria should be Cabo Colnett, but the latitude of this cape, 30° 57′, would make the error 1° 33′, rather larger than seems reasonable. It is, however, only by accepting this identification that it is possible to account for the distance of 17 leagues given from it to Cabo de Cruz, which can hardly be any other than Punta Santo Tomás in 31° 33′.

63. It is not certain whether the "apparently" belongs to what goes before or after.

64. This port perhaps was at the mouth of the Rio San Telmo in the bay east of Cabo Colnett.

65. October 14 was the day of the celebration of the Exaltacion de la Santa Cruz. It is not easy to identify the cape, but from the reference later to the small island passed, which must have been one of the Islas Todos Santos, it seems evident that the Cabo de Cruz was Punta Santo Tomás in 31° 33′—error, 1° 27′. The chief objection to this identification lies in the fact that it is stated in the narrative that there was no water nor wood there, whereas the Rio Santo Tomás empties into the ocean a short distance from the point and there is usually water in that river.

66. Identified by Davidson, and probably correctly so, as Ensenada in 31° 52′—error, 1° 28′. San Mateo's day was September 21, the day Cabrillo was there. Henshaw identified it as San Diego Bay.

67. The animals must have been antelope.

68. The Coronados in 32° 25′—error, 1° 35′. In the text an ambiguous expression occurs: *despoblados de tierra dellos*. Dr. Bolton translated this "denuded of soil," and Evans, "uninhabited."

69. San Diego in 32° 40′—error, 1° 40′. September 29 is San Miguel's day. Although nothing can be more certain than that Cabrillo's San Miguel was the modern San Diego, Henshaw identified it as San Pedro, probably having been misled by the error in his text about the second San Salvador Island. All other investigators are agreed.

70. Although it is easy to misunderstand the gestures and signs of Indians, and questioners usually interpret them to mean what they wish them to mean, this description coupled with similar stories heard later seems to indicate plainly enough that the Indians on the coast had heard about the Spaniards on the other side of the Colorado River. One of the objects of Cabrillo's expedition was to obtain information about the places visited by Coronado, and no doubt most of his questions communicated to the Indians, of course by signs only, were directed towards finding out if the Indians had ever seen people like them before.

71. October 1 is rather early these days for a southwest storm, but it seems to have marked the beginning of the rainy season in that year.

72. It is customary to identify Vitoria as San Clemente and San Salvador as Santa Catalina, but without good reason. The narrative distinctly states that they arrived at daybreak, October 7, at the islands, an expression which would never have been used in referring to islands twenty miles apart, as San Clemente and Santa Catalina are. Cabrillo seems to have passed over to the island from a point somewhere near San Juan, as that is roughly about eighteen leagues from San Diego. What he saw was undoubtedly Santa Catalina, which always appears to be two islands at no very great distance. Which part he called San Salvador and which Vitoria is not known, as it is impossible to make out whether he landed on the north or south part. On the return in the following April they stopped at San Salvador again and this time no mention was made of Vitoria, so it seems they had found out before they left the first time, or shortly after sailing from there, that there was only one island. The names given were those of his two ships.

73. This bay was originally identified by Davidson as San Pedro but Henshaw thought it was Santa Monica, and in 1886 Davidson changed his opinion to agree with that of Henshaw. Bancroft considered it to be San Pedro, with which identification the writer agrees. The latitude of San Pedro Bay is 33° 43′—error, 1° 17′, much smaller than the error at San Diego. If the bay were Santa Monica, the error would only be 1°, much too small. The principal reasons, however, for the identification as San Pedro are the description given by Cabrillo and the fact that he had not previously referred to it, having passed over to Santa Catalina before reaching it. As the weather was good and his business was to examine the coast, he would have had no excuse for passing by San Pedro Bay, which indeed he must have seen from a distance before crossing over to the island.

74. *Fuegos* and *fumos* were used rather indiscriminately in the early accounts.

75. Undoubtedly Santa Monica Bay, which is an *ensenada* properly speaking.

76. It is not clear whether Cabrillo sent these Spaniards or not.

77. Near Mugu Lagoon where Vizcaino afterward found a town, the remains of which were explored fifty years ago. This place is in about 34° 05′—error, 1° 15′, the same as for San Pedro Bay.

78. As these islands are the first he mentions in this locality and the description, except for the size, corresponds to the Anacapa Islands, it is plain that these are the ones to which he refers. I have been informed recently that a little water can be obtained on one of them.

79. The anchorage that night must have been in the neighborhood of Point Gorda, which is about eight leagues beyond Mugu Lagoon. Even if it was at Rincon Point, as suggested by Professor Davidson, it was too close to Ventura to allow for Pueblo de las Canoas having been at that point.

80. Usually identified as the Carpinteria Valley, apparently correctly so, as it is about two leagues from Point Gorda, besides being the only valley on this immediate part of the coast.

81. *Cae,* perhaps *Cue,* as the manuscript is not very clear. As these Indians hardly could have had any knowledge of buffalo it seems likely that the animals they described by signs were elk or deer.

82. After that Saint, whose day is October 18. Usually said to be Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa combined, as these islands appear to overlap to a certain extent when seen from some directions. Subsequently the name San Lucas was restricted to the middle island, Santa Rosa. The names of the towns bear no resemblance to those afterwards given in the narrative to towns on either Santa Rosa or Santa Cruz.

83. There is still on this part of the coast a "Dos Pueblos," evidently a reminiscence of these two Indian pueblos. This was the name of a Spanish land grant which extended along the coast some ten miles or more. Near the west end there is quite a running stream coming down a canyon still called "Dos Pueblos Canyon." The place is an ideal one for Indian settlements, as even today there is quite a lot of timber in the bottom. In June, 1875, some excavations were made on both sides of the creek on the level bluffs which here rise perhaps thirty feet above the sea. Extensive remains were found, indicating that at one time a large population was settled here. The excavators heard that the creek formed the boundary between two different subtribes which spoke different dialects. U. S. Geog. Survey, 1879, 41. The small village in the creek bottom is now called Naples.

84. Whether this was the place which is subsequently called in the narrative "Puerto de Sardinas," or whether that name was applied to the two pueblos just passed, is uncertain. Pueblo de Sardinas is stated to have been in 35° 40′, and Professor Davidson considered that the name was applied to some Indian villages at Gaviota Pass in 34° 27′. Later in the narrative it is called "Çicacut" and Çiucut is said to have been the chief town of a province which extended from there to Cabo de Galera. This would rather point to the fact that the latter was the western one of the "Dos Pueblos" and Çicacut was further west.

85. Many of these small daggers were dug up at the sites of Chumash villages in 1875 by the exploring party. Geog. Survey for 1879, 307.

86. Point Conception in 34° 37′—an error of at least 1° 33′—and if we take the latitude given by Herrera as 36½°—an error of 2°. The description of the cape is sufficiently exact to make the identification practically complete.

87. Cabrillo apparently recognized these islands as the ones to which he had previously applied the same name. He now saw San Miguel and Santa Rosa.

88. An error was made by Navarrete's copyist, who has here "northeast." What is meant is the general direction of the islands. In Herrera the correct statement is made that the islands trend west a quarter northwest.

89. *Sp., temporal.* A *temporal,* strictly speaking, was a seasonal rainstorm, and the rainy season in Mexico is still usually referred to as that of the *temporales.* No doubt that was precisely what this storm was.

90. This island was San Miguel and the port could hardly be any other than Cuyler's Harbor, as explained by Davidson.

91. *Sp., trabesia,* always an awkward word to translate, as it has numerous applications. From the context it appears that the wind was blowing directly on shore and therefore in this case the word might be translated "on-shore wind," as is usually done.

92. That is to say, the coast north of Point Argüello.

93. This is the first time in the narrative that any mention occurs of any particular search for a river. A small stream empties into the ocean at 34° 42′, now known either as the Purisima or the Santa Ynez. They had obviously heard about this from the Indians, to whom it may have appeared very large in their ignorance of any real river. They apparently wasted considerable time in hunting for it. The Santa Maria, which empties

into the Pacific in about 34° 57′, is still larger than the Purisima, but perhaps they did not see the mouth of it, or, if they did, rightly concluded that it was not the one they were seeking. The reference to a bold coast would indicate that they were in the neighborhood of Point Sal in 34° 54′.

94. This is now called "Cojo Anchorage," a name which looks very much as if it had been derived from this Indian name. November 1 was the day of Todos Santos.

95. It seems likely that it was at this town that some of the chiefs came on board and danced to the sound of a tambourine and the Castilian bagpipe, as related by Herrera.

96. This expression is ambiguous. Perhaps it was meant that the tamales were good food.

97. *Sp., no podrian valerse,* a quite absurd statement. The *no* is an obvious error.

98. Evidently in the neighborhood of San Luis Obispo, perhaps off Point Sal. As they had been along this coast before, they obviously sailed at night. This is about where Herrera said they were looking for the Rio de Nuestra Señora without finding it, as explained above in Note 93.

99. The coast range of mountains from Mount Buchon north, which follows the coast some ten or fifteen miles inland and rises to an altitude of nearly 4,000 feet; immediately on the coast in places there is a lower range, not nearly so high as the one in the interior, although when close to shore it might appear to be so. The main range is now usually known as the Santa Lucia Mountains, so named by Vizcaino.

100. Coming from the south, this range of mountains can be seen coming down to the sea some eighteen miles north of Point Piedras Blancas, and as at this time Cabrillo evidently did not reach Cabo de Martin, it may be considered uncertain as to whether he meant the cape now known as San Martin in 35° 54′ or Point Piedras Blancas in 35° 40′. The latitude which he gives to it of 38° becomes 37½° in the latter part of the narrative, when they were coming down from the north. Later in the narrative it is also stated that the country was inhabited for fifteen leagues southeast of this cape, while just before this it is said to have been uninhabited. Herrera states that Cabo de San Martin was at the northwest end of the Sierras de San Martin.

101. *Sp., deparase,* a word which has no meaning here, and therefore must be an error. I suggest that it might be *amparase.* From Herrera's account it would seem that this occurred on the *Capitana.*

102. Point Reyes in 38°—error, 2°. Herrera: "A cape runs out into the sea covered with very tall pine trees. They called it 'Cabo de Pinos,' and taking the sun, found themselves in 40°. More towards the northwest, where they reconnoitered more than fifteen leagues of coast which trended northwest-southeast, everything was high land."

103. It is possible that these sierras and the timber here referred to were north of the Russian River, if this were the country referred to in the previous note. If however, the reference is to what was seen on Wednesday, the sierras must have been the Santa Cruz Mountains.

104. Monterey Bay. The expression, *que venia de vuelta,* which immediately follows, seems to have little meaning in this place. I have translated it "which came from behind," but it is more probable that the expression referred to the fact that they were now coming back from the north.

105. No doubt the Salinas River and Salinas Valley.

106. It is probable that this anchorage was near the mouth of the Pajaro River, where this depth of water can still be found not far from shore. Where the observation of 39° was taken is not stated, but if here, his error is about 2°.

107. Although the statement is explicit that the *ensenada* was full of pines down to the sea, it seems more likely that the reference was to a bay which very likely was merely one in the *ensenada* itself, namely Santa Cruz or possibly Soquel Cove, unless perhaps Monterey Bay at that time had pine trees all around its shores, by no means beyond belief.

108. This is a perfect description of the coast between Point Carmel and Cape San Martin, and hardly applies to any other part of the coast Cabrillo saw, certainly none so extended.

109. The northern part of the Santa Lucia range which immediately fronts the coast.

110. As the ships were now going south, and as Cabo de San Martin was at the south end of this range, it follows that the Cabo de Nieve was at the north end, and therefore was Point Cypress in 36° 35′—error 2° 05′, which is really the end of the range. The difference of one-third of a degree in the latitudes assigned to it and to the Baia de los Pinos would seem to prove that the latter must have been near Santa Cruz.

111. In spite of this plain statement that they went close to the coast from Cape San Martin south, it is more probable that they were some distance from land.

112. In the narrative this cape appears in some places as Cabo de San Martin, and in others as Cabo de Martin. What was meant by changing the latitude, first put at 38°, to 37½°, is quite uncertain. It might appear that they now decided that the Cabo

de San Martin was Point Piedras Blancas in 35° 40′. From this point almost down to Point Buchon the coast country is more or less rolling, with a high mountain range in the interior, and there were certainly a number of Indian settlements at various points on it. Just why they found no signs that it was inhabited when they sailed north is not easy to see and creates some doubt as to whether this was the particular part of the coast there described. If it be assumed that on this return voyage they changed the name Cabo de San Martin to what is now Point Buchon, the fifteen leagues to the southeast would then cover the San Luis Obispo Bay region and the inhabited valley of the Santa Maria. This hypothesis, however, does not seem suitable, all due allowance being made for the various factors which have to be taken into consideration.

113. In spite of this explicit statement there is good reason to believe that it is not correct. In the *Informacion* two witnesses appeared who had accompanied Cabrillo. Lázaro de Cárdenas said that "he [Cabrillo] reached an island, which he named the 'Capitana,' where he decided to winter as he had encountered a violent tempest at sea and thought that the ships would be lost. As he was going ashore in a boat with some soldiers he fell between some rocks and broke a leg. From this fall a fatal illness ensued from which he died within twelve days and was buried there. Before the end he called Captain Ferrer and gave him the appointment as captain-general of the said fleet in the name of His Majesty by reason of a royal commission which he carried. He admonished and begged him to take charge of the service of God and His Majesty and the handling of the fleet until he could go to give an account of it all to the viceroy of New Spain. By reason of his death, which occurred there, the island retains the name 'Capitana.'" 1-4-34/3, 2, 4, fol. 22 *verso*.

Francisco de Vargas testified that "he [Cabrillo] discovered the island named 'Capitana' and according to what the pilots said there, from the observations which they took, he was very near Maluco and the spice country and in the neighborhood of China. The pilots were Matia, Bartolomé Ferrer and the Corsican, Lorenzo Hernandez, some of whom had before been to the said Islas del Maluco. With the natives of this island he had some great fights as they came out in a warlike manner. During all the time the fleet was at the Isla Capitana the Indians never stopped fighting. One day, a large party of soldiers having gone ashore to take water, a number of Indians attacked them and handled them so roughly that they were in danger. General Juan Rodriguez, seeing from the ship the difficulties in which the Indians had his men and hearing the clamor, hurried up to give them assistance. He himself with some soldiers went ashore, and as they were landing his foot slipped from the boat and his shinbone was shattered on a rock. From this he died on his own ship in ten or twelve days, first having extracted his soldiers from the dangers in which they were." 1-4-34/4, 2, 4, fol. 24 *verso*.

114. As in the text. The "no" seems from the context to be an error, but some of the Channel Island Indians are said to have had a kind of bed or bunk, so perhaps this bald statement is as originally reported by Cabrillo.

115. In the MS this is "s. s.," but the date, January 20, the day of San Sebastian, proves that the "s. s." stood for his name. Furthermore, Herrera refers to the island as San Sebastian. Whoever wrote out the MS for Navarrete thought that "s. s." stood for San Salvador, thus injecting into the narrative a confusion which has brought great trouble to all writers on the voyage, who concluded, of course, that this San Salvador must have been the one previously named, that is, Santa Catalina. The island was Santa Cruz.

116. Just previously, this town was called "Estocoloco." The island was the one now known as Santa Rosa. From the narrative it appears that the name "San Lucas" had now been restricted to that island.

117. It is rather useless to speculate about which islands these six might have been, but it seems probable that they included the three they had just left.

118. This seems to have been a long tack to the southwest with a west-northwest wind.

119. This mention of the Cabo de Pinos is sufficient to show that Ferrer considered it a landmark, and goes very far towards demonstrating that it must have been Point Reyes.

120. Point Arena in 38° 57′. Twenty leagues from Point Reyes would have brought them about to this point at which the coast, as a matter of fact, does turn from northwest to north-northwest. This point Herrera called "Cabo de Fortunas," placing it in 41°, that is, 1° north of Cabo de Pinos—error, 2° in the observation, the same as for Cabo de Pinos.

121. Allowing for a correction of 2°, they were then in about 41°.

122. The text is a little ambiguous; it might mean that the sea molested them by breaking over the ships. From the context it is certain that they were now going northwest.

123. *Sp., puente,* strictly speaking a deck to a compartment; it is no doubt used in that sense here.

124. During the rainy season a number of rivers from Eel River north carry large quantities of water into the sea with plenty of drift timber.

125. A further indication that the Cabo de Pinos was a notable landmark.

126. In the *Informacion* in one of the interrogatories, it is asked if the fleet did not go up as high as 55°. No one answered this question except Francisco de Vargas, who said they went up as far as 45°, according to the charts. This figure was very commonly given later as the highest point reached by the expedition. At the end of Herrera's account it is said that they went up as high as 44°, in this respect probably following the original account of the expedition. As it has been previously seen that there was almost certainly an error of at least 2° in the observations above the thirty-sixth parallel, there is in consequence little likelihood that any of the ships ever got above 42°, and even there they must have been at some distance from the coast.

127. *Sp., desnudos en carnes,* that is, stark naked, an expression common in the sixteenth century. Dr. Bolton in a note of explanation suggests that it meant stripped to the waist, on the authority of Father Zephyrin Englehardt.

128. The sentence is incomplete. It seems likely that in the original the names of the officers and perhaps the crew followed here, omitted in the summary as serving no purpose.

INA DONNA COOLBRITH
1841-1928

With the passing of Ina Coolbrith California has lost the last of the early writers who made the name California known in literature. With Bret Harte, Charles Warren Stoddard and Joaquin Miller she was closely associated. The first two, with herself, were known as "the Trinity of the Overland" and she dearly loved the memories of the days when they worked together. Her poems which marked the death of these friends were rare and touching tributes.

But not only on this coast did her name become known and loved. With the publication of her *Songs from the Golden Gate,* the East recognized the fresh voice and accorded her praise. Soon she became the valued correspondent of Whittier and others of the Cambridge School. But she did not link herself wholly with the past. One by one her contemporaries have passed on and younger writers have taken their places. Many of them are indebted to her influence. As librarian of the Oakland public library, she early recognized the budding genius of Jack London and guided his omniverous reading into the right channels. George Sterling was a comrade. The whole line of later California poets were proud to be her friends. Prose writers, musicians and artists were also drawn to her; no budding writer touched her life but to receive encouragement.

After years of friendship, the writer can truly say that she never heard from Miss Coolbrith an unkind word of anyone. Falsities and wrongs might be denounced, but charity was always mingled with her criticisms, and she found something to praise, some foundation for a kindly comment. She was quick and keen at repartee and always ready with the exactly fitting word and phrase.

In 1915, by the State legislature, she was formally created the Poet Laureate of California. In thus honoring her the State has honored itself.

It is earnestly hoped that a way may be found to publish whatever manuscripts she has left, and that the scattered poems of her later years — some of them among her finest — may be gathered together in permanent form.

For her kindliness, her loyalty and her faith we shall remember her, as well as for the brilliancy of her intellect. Nothing can be written of her more true than her own beautiful poem, "When the Grass Shall Cover Me." The opening stanza is prophetic of today:

"When the grass shall cover me
Head to foot where I am lying,
When not any wind that blows
Summer blooms nor winter snows
Shall awake me to your sighing;
Close above me as you pass,
You will say, 'How kind she was.'
You will say, 'How true she was'
When the grass grows over me."

HELEN THROOP PURDY.

DOCUMENTARY

The Frémont Episode

[Larkin's Circular "to Several Americans," Telling of the Happenings at Sonoma and the Mobilization of the "Californian" Forces]

[Larkin's Official Correspondence I, p. 103. Bancroft Library.]
[Copy]

Consulate of the United States of America
Monterey, California, July 8th, 1846.

The foregoing proclamations have been issued at the Towns of Yerba Buena, Sonoma, Pueblo de San Jose, and Monterey, some being put up at one town, some at another, two other proclamations in March & April were sent North by the General & Prefecto against Captain Fremont and other Americans, one in March calling him a Highwayman, when at that time he could not leave the Country untill his animals were recruited, and all private persons spoke well of him, in January Captain Fremont accompanied me to the different Authorities of Monterey & was well received the General from him, the Prefect from me, receiving official communication relative to his object of visiting the Country to which they acquiesed in March they officially ordered him while encamped near the Mission of San Johns, to leave this Department, which in his proper time he left for the Frontiers. From April to June the foreigners in the Sacramento Valley, were continually harassed by verbal reports & written proclamations, that they must leave California; the first week of June, Lieutenant Francisco Arce, with eleven soldiers in bringing 170 horses & mares belonging to his General, Castro, then at Head quarters, Santa Clara Mission, had to cross the Sacramento near New Helvetia, one morning while eating at their camp fires at the house of Martin Murphy of Ireland, was visited by one Merritt an American, one O Farlen (Irish) and ten other foreigners, who demanded their guns & horses, which without resistance were given up; Lieut. Arce & Party were then allowed their arms, the horses under the saddle & a fresh horse each; on Arce complaining of being surprised, Merritt told him (so said) to take his men armed & with a good horse, each choose their distance, make their signal, and he & his men would try them again; as the trial was not agreed to, the parties then parted; the foreigners carrying off 80 to 100 saddle horses & mares.

On the 14th of June, thirty four foreigners took the Town of Sonoma on the Bay of San Francisco without resistance, made prisoners of Don Guadalupe Vallejo, Lieut Colonel in the Mexican service & Commandant of Sonoma, his brother Salvador, his brother in law, Jacob P. Leese, of Ohio, and Captain Victor Prudon, of France, both Citizens of California, these with many horses, they carried to New Helvetia or that vicinity, leaving some of the party in possession of Sonoma, with other horses, eight pieces of cannon, three hundred muskets & carbines, and much ammunition; the Alcalde a respectable Californian resumed his duties under the Captors; on the 15th, the foreigners found they must

choose a new Commander, the lot fell on William B. Ide from [one of the] Western States, who with a Wife & five children, left the States in May 1845, and reached the Sacramento in October, same year. Mr Ide is said to be a man of about 45 years of age, of good family, active, energetic and of sound sense & information; the first week of his administration, he ordered one of his men before the Alcalde for killing one of Lt. Col. Vallejo's horses, he was ordered to pay its value at appraizment, 30$, the same week he informed all sellers of spirits, that he should not fine them, but roll into the street & break up, all liquors found in a store, where proof was made of any spirits being sold; this had the desired effect.

On Señor Vallejo leaving Sonoma as a "Hostage," he received the word of Commander Ide, that all provisions used by him, should be paid for if they succeeded, and to the last notices we have, receipts are always given for every thing used or taken.

Señor Vallejo sent one of the inmates of his house to Yerba Buena, with a letter to John B. Montgomery, Commander of the U. S. Ship, Portsmouth, requesting that one of the Officers of that Ship should visit Sonoma, to see the new Commandant & his men, also the Inhabitants of the Town, for the purpose of conversing with the two parties & calming the minds of the people. Captain Montgomery also received a Messenger from the garrison. Lieu[t] Missaroom took both Messengers in a Boat and visited Sonoma, found all quiet & in good order, called on the Alcalde who had continued his Magisterial functions, learnt from him of the good order in town & that the inhabitants were pursuing their usual avocations.

Up to June 24th, Commandant Ide was said to have forty men with the expectations of as many more, that General Castro was yet at his Head Quarters at the Ex-Mission of Santa Clara having collected between Monterey & Yerba Buena over 400 men, half of whom in three parties were leaving for the Bay of San Francisco, to cross at San Pablo, Yerba Buena & the Straights of Karninas, to cut off any stragling parties of foreigners, and on meeting & rejoining each other near Sonoma, to receive a reinforcement from the farmers in that vicinity, and attack the foreigners in the night, as report had reached the Natives that neither Ide nor his men kept a good look out. General Castro with all the men he could add to his remaining 200, at the same time was to march immediately for the Sacramento Valley and drive out the settlers.

A Circular to several Americans.

I am, Yours &c
(Signed) THOMAS O. LARKIN.

[Castro to Sloat, Asking for an Explanation of the Sonoma Affair]

[Mr. C. Templeton Crocker's Sloat Manuscripts.]

[Original]

Comand^{a}. Gral. del
Departam^{to} de Calif^{a}.

Cuartel Gr̄al en S^{n}. Juan
Bautista Julio 9" de 1846.

El infrascripto Comandante General de la Alta California tiene el honor de manifestar al Sor̄. Comandante en Gefe de las fuerzas Navales de los Estados Unidos en el mar Pacifico hoy en Monterey, que una Gavilla de aventureros acaudillados por el Capitan de Ejercito de aquella Nacion Mr. J. C. Fremo[n]t, se apoderó impugnemente de la Plaza de Sonoma enarbolando un Pavellan desconacido, haciendo prisioneros á los Gefes y Oficiales que habia allé, y perpetrando asecinatos y toda clase de perjuicios en las vidas y propiedades de aquellos habitantes, el infrascripto ignora aun á que Gobierno pertenecen los invasores de aquella parte del Departam,^{to} y una partida de estos que anda en las immediaciones de Sta. Clara; y como no puede creer que pertenezean á las fuerzas que manda el espresado Sor̄. Comodoro, le merecerá se sirva hacerle una aclaracion á este respecto, afin de abrar de conformidad con su contestacion; pues el infrascripto ni el ultimo de los Ciudadanos del paiz, sufrirán se cometan por aquellas Gabillas, atentados de ninguna clase.

Diós y Libertad Cuartel gr̄al. en San Juan Bautista Julio 9" de 1846.

JOSE CASTRO

[Rubric]

Sor̄. Comand^{te} en Gefe de las fuerzas Navales de los Estados Unidos en el mar Pacifico en Monterey.

[Translation]

Comandancia General of the
Department of California

Headquarters in San Juan Bautista
July 9, 1846.

The undersigned Commandant General of Upper California has the honor of informing the Commander in Chief of the United States Naval forces in the Pacific Ocean that a party of adventurers commanded by Mr. J. C. Frémont of the Army of said nation took possession of the Town of Sonoma, without opposition, hoisting an unknown flag, making prisoners of the commanders and officers who were there, and perpetrating assassinations and all kinds of injuries to the persons and property of the inhabitants. The undersigned is even ignorant to what government these invaders of that part of the Department belong, as also a detachment of them now marching about in the neighborhood of Santa Clara, and as he cannot believe that they belong to the forces under the command of the said Commodore, he will be indebted to him if he will kindly clear up the matter so that the undersigned may act in conformity with his reply; as

neither the undersigned nor the last remaining citizen of the country will suffer excess of any type to be committed by those adventurers.

God and Liberty

Headquarters in San Juan Bautista
July 9, 1846.

JOSE CASTRO

Commander in Chief of the
Naval forces of the United States in the
Pacific Ocean in Monterey

[Sloat to Frémont, Telling of His Progress in the Conquest of California and Asking for Frémont's Cooperation]

[Printed in Frémont's Memoirs, pp. 530-31.]

Flag-Ship Savannah, Bay of Monterey,
July 9, 1846.

SIR: You will, no doubt, have received the information before this that I have hoisted the flag of the United States at this place, on the 7th instant; as yet all is quiet and no resistance of any kind has been made.

I immediately sent to General Castro a copy of my proclamation to the inhabitants of California, and a summons* to surrender forthwith to the American arms the forts, military posts, and stations, under his command, together with all troops, arms, munitions of war, and public property of every description under his control and jurisdiction, with an invitation for him to meet me immediately at this place to enter into articles of capitulation, that himself officers, soldiers, and the inhabitants of California, may receive assurances of perfect safety to themselves and property.

I have this moment learned, by an Englishman just arrived from General Castro, at the Pueblo, that General Castro was probably at St. John's last evening, and that you would probably be at the Pueblo [San José] at the same time.

I have not as yet received any communication from General Castro.

It is thought he will be in to-morrow, or send some communication. This Englishman says that when the general read my proclamation to his troops, he expressed his approbation of it; if he is wise, he will make no resistance.

I have here the frigate *Savannah,* of fifty-four guns, the sloops of war *Cyane* and *Levant,* of twenty-four guns each, armed with 32-pounder long guns, 68-pounder shell guns, and 42-pounder carronades, with a large complement of men, and am every moment in expectation of the arrival of the frigate *Congress,* with sixty 32-pounder long guns, at this place, and the sloop *Erie* with long 18's at San Francisco. I am extremely anxious to see you at your earliest convenience; and should General Castro consent to enter into a capitulation, it is of the utmost importance that you should be present. I hope, therefore, that

* This summons and Castro's reply were printed in this *Quarterly,* Vol. II, No. 4, pp. 354-55.

you will push on with all possible despatch, or at any rate, let me hear from you immediately.

Captain Montgomery sent his launch down, which I despatched on the 6th, informing him that I should take possession of this place on the next day in the name of the United States, and sent him a copy of my summons and proclamation, and also orders to take possession of Yerba Buena and the Bay of San Francisco immediately, requesting him to inform you of these facts without delay.* I have also sent him three couriers with the same orders (in cipher), which I have no doubt have reached him, and am confident that the flag of the United States is now flying there.

Although I am in expectation of seeing General Castro, to enter into satisfactory terms with him, there may be a necessity of one hundred men, well mounted, who are accustomed to riding, to form a force to prevent any further robbing of the farmers' houses, etc., by the Indians. I request you to bring in as many men up to that number with you, or send them on under charge of a trusty person, in case you may be delayed for a day or two. Should you find any Government horses on the road, please bring them in.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,

JOHN D. SLOAT,
Commander-in Chief of the U. S. Naval Forces
in the Pacific Ocean, etc.

Captain J. C. Frémont.

[Larkin's Report to the State Department after the Raising of the Flag at Monterey]

[Larkin's Official Correspondence II, pp. 73-74. Bancroft Library.]
[Copy]

Consulate of the United States of America
Monterey, California, July 10th, 1846.

Sir.

By N°. 48 the Department was informed the Foreigners on the Bay of San Francisco, had rose against the Government of California the last of June, General Castro had 400 men at Santa Clara, only 60 of them crossed the Bay & were attacked and driven off by 15 foreigners, killing 2 or 3 on each side; the General & his party, by small detachments reached the Mission of San Juan 30 or 35 miles, North of Monterey by the 8th instant, retreating from the foreigners at the North said now to number over 100 people, one half by Castro's men left him before his arrival at St. John's; the day of their arrival the General received a despatch from Com°. Sloat demanding the delivery of this Country, the Military Commandant of this Town having received the same early in the morning, the answer of the latter was, he had no orders, soldiers, arms nor property, and then suddenly left the Town; the General has informed the Com°. that he can do nothing untill he sees the Governor & State of Legis-

* Sloat's letter to Montgomery was printed in this *Quarterly*, Vol. II, No. 4, p. 356.

lature at the Town of the Angels, to which place he started yesterday forcing many of his countrymen to go with him, very many refusing to take up arms but their dread of the General has forced many to follow him, some had to be tied & whipt, to compel their services.

I am of the opinion that the Governor will not cooperate with the General, they having no chance of succeeding & their resistance only distracting the Country; Mr. Ide had in Sonoma about 60 men; himself or Captain J. C. Fremont is expected in Monterey with 2 or 300 people to cooperate with the squadron; very many of the Californians will soon come into the new state of affairs when a few officers who rule them are put down, over 1000 emigrants are expected in October.

Commodore John D. Sloat arrived here on the 1st. of July, the Cyane & Levant he found at anchor, the Portsmouth at San Francisco, on the 7th instant at seven o'clock in the morning, the Commodore sent to the house of Don Mariano Silva (the highest Military Commandant at the time in Town) Captain Melvine* of the Cyane with two or three Officers, demanding the surrender of the Town & Country by eight Sor Silva contested the latter, saying, he had no orders nor any thing to give up, property, soldiers or flag (the Commandancia of this Port has had no flag these two months) at ten o'clock the forces were landed & they hoisted the American Flag; the Custom House is now fitted up with accomodations for over 100 men (with beds, tables &c. &c) over 100 marines with their music paraded the Town today, an orderly & strict guard patroll the streets, the citizens at night are not hailed, at the barracks only they use the watch word, where people need not go after dark, for a few days the stores that sell spirits, are closed. For a short time the people must use the Beach as formerly, the Wharf being under Military use for the time.

The Commodore left Mazatlan the 8th or 10th of June, when it was understood by all, that Matamoras was taken by General Taylor, on the last of May, having been in action on the 8th & 9th, with 7000 Mexican troops, and destroying over half of them. On his arrival here for some days he continually heard of distracting reports of the foreigners & Californians collecting people at Sn. Francisco & preparing to fight, the foreigners having hoisted a new flag with the ensignia of the Bear & one Star, white field & red border; in this state of affairs — and perhaps fearing some other foreign Officer might do it, he hoisted the U. S. flag in the Town, and I presume Captn. Montgomery, yesterday, done the same thing in San. Francisco.

We have H. B. M. Ship Juno, here, and expect the Collingwood soon; Como. Sloat does not wish to intercept, if possible, Mexican vessels belonging entirely to California. It is impossible to foretell how the present state of affairs may terminate, I am of the opinion, the Inhabitants unawed by their Chiefs, will soon be contented.

Hon. James Buchanan
Secretary of State
City of Washington

I am Sir, with the highest respect,
your most obedient servant
(Signed) THOMAS O. LARKIN.

* Captain William Mervine.

[Larkin to Frémont Requesting the Raising of a Company to Assist Sloat]

[Larkin's Official Correspondence I, p. 106. Bancroft Library.]
[Copy]

Consulate of the United States of America
Monterey, California, July 12th, 1846

Sir.

From the route you have taken I presume you did not receive my last letter (of this past week) Commodore Sloat is very anxious to see you, waiting for your cooperation, I have given him to understand that jointly with you, his business will become light in comparison to what he now has on hand. I presume you to have entered the Pueblo to day, the Com°. wishes you to reach Monterey with all the men you can bring, or with a few come in, and have the others follow directly, he wants to form a Company under pay to cut off the horse stealing, crimes in general throughout the Country & that requires a force to bear arms against any body of soldiers who may be met to fight him. General Castro has wrote to the Com°. that he must go South to see the Governor & Assembly, I hope they will settle the business peaceably, you can promise men to take up arms in the name of the United States at fifteen or twenty dollars per month, they can in a great measure choose their own officers, should you be able to purchase any horses or saddles before you come in, funds are here for payment.

I strongly recommend a few of your former men to carry home despatches, of this more when me meet, hoping to see you to morrow

I am your most

J. C. Fremont. obedient servant

(Signed) THOMAS O. LARKIN.

REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The History of Warner's Ranch and Its Environs. By Joseph J. Hill. With a Preface by Herbert E. Bolton. Privately printed. Los Angeles, California, 1927. 7 l., 221 pp. Ports. Facs. 8°.

Alta California, the last child of Spain's declining grandeur and fading splendor, was predestined to be one of the greatest of her colonies. Planted amidst strangely conflicting difficulties, unusual hardships, and remotely situated, it was but inevitable that progress must needs be slow, and development but slight. Nor could it have been otherwise. Of all the colonies of Spain, this of California was the most far-flung and, except Mexico, it was the most inaccessible. The one-time great pioneer spirit of Spain was in its final gasp and the Conquistadores were dead. To the people of Mexico it was more pleasant and profitable to live within the confines of their own highly developed civilization with its attendant comforts, than to fare forth into a *terra incognita* of which in the scant existing literature of that period but few favorable reports were to be found. In the present day it is not easily realized that for three centuries Alta California lay under the banner of Spain and the flag of Mexico. And yet this fact has afforded wide latitude for the scope of its reality and romance.

In his *History of Warner's Ranch,* Mr. Hill has presented the results of his researches with skill and accuracy. The book begins with a brief account of the Indian tribes, principally the Cupeños who occupied the site afterwards known as "Rancho San José del Valle," or "Warner's ranch." Traditionally it had always been an Indian rancheria and at the coming of the Spaniards it was well populated. This continued through the later varied history of the ranch, and the Indians actually remained within their old environments until 1903, when their land-titles were legally extinguished. In that year, without disorder or demonstration, they were quietly removed to Pala, forty miles from their ancestral place of habitation. The Indian tribal name was "Hakupin," which was fairly transliterated into the Spanish "Jajopín."

The first exploration by white men was made in 1795. It had been decided to found a new mission between San Diego and San Juan Capistrano. An expedition was led by Captain Juan Pablo Grijalva, and in the company was Fray Juan Mariner. Both of these explorers made reports, and the original of Father Mariner's is yet preserved at Santa Barbara.

The mission period of the ranch has been reviewed adequately and extensively in its growth, development, progress, relations of the mission and the Indian, and the unrealized dream of the padres of a sort of Christian Utopia. The vexed question of secularization has been given lucid treatment. The attitude of the Mexican government is thus summarized: "The spirit of Mexican republicanism was not favorable to the longer existence of the old missions under a system of land-monopoly strongly tinged with some phases of human slavery." Whether this were entirely consistent or equally unjust is a case in

which neither court nor layman has ever handed down a quieting decision. The decree of secularization was actively enacted in 1834. The padres were sent upon their several ways; the Indians being turned loose lapsed into their former low state; the missions were sold at public auction, and after going through other hands, Rancho Agua Caliente passed into the possession of Juan José Warner.

The advent of the American trapper-explorers with their operations and activities constitute the contents of several chapters of the work. In form and arrangement it is a vary valuable précis of this feature of the history of Southern California to which so many of the early trappers and traders were attracted.

The work includes naturally a biographical essay on the life of Warner, and although brief, it portrays clearly the class and character of an unusual individual.

Other chapters are devoted to a complete history of the ranch from the year of its exploration in 1795 to the present day. Herein the author has assembled an extensive mass of historical data drawn from widely divergent sources:—The story of the Indians, at first in independence, next in a species of slavery, and finally in emancipation; military and other noted visitors; the legal history of the ranch in which is defined clearly the processes of a Mexican land-grant from the day of application made to the Mexican governor to its final confirmation (when there was such) by the United States Land Commission.

The books ends with a comprehensive sketch of William Griffith Henshaw, who was late owner of the ranch, and was the successful projector of the Henshaw Dam and other great problems of irrigation engineering.

In the Appendix there are eight interesting facsimiles of the original expediente of the ranch, and one of the first page of the Diary of Fray Mariner, with accompanying translations.

On the history of California, sundry works of much importance have appeared within recent years, but most of them have been along the well-trodden paths of established history. In the present work Mr. Hill has made a wide détour into a field that for long years has lain fallow. Much upon the history of Mexican land-grants already exists in print, but it is principally in the form of legal documents, the contents of which are generally parched and not wholly inspiring. None of this has been reflected in Mr. Hill's book. It is an admirable piece of work, worthy of its purpose and wholly creditable to its author.

The edition was issued for private distribution only, and 300 copies were printed for Mr. John Treanor by Messrs. Young & McCallister of Los Angeles. In the features of typography, format and binding, there is nothing that would add further to the essentials of perfection.[1]

ROBERT ERNEST COWAN.

[1] It is understood that an edition of this work for general distribution and sale is now on the press.—Ed.

Frémont the West's Greatest Adventurer. Being a Biography from certain hitherto unpublished sources of General John C. Frémont, together with his Wife Jessie Benton Frémont, and some account of the period of expansion which found a brilliant leader in The Pathfinder. By Allan Nevins. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1928. 2 vols. Illustrated. 8°.

Frémont's memory has not suffered from any lack of biographers. It has suffered severely from partisans and from historians who center their shafts upon vulnerable points of his record. In all the glorification and censure he has received there has been a lack of breadth of view — of study of his life as a whole and of analysis and appreciation of his character.

His career was so varied, his operations — many of them — so mysterious, his political, military, and private record so confused in detail that it has required extraordinary skill to bring out the clear, satisfying picture which this book so eminently presents.

Josiah Royce rested his case entirely upon the records of the California Conquest and confessed himself baffled by the character of the man. His exposé, drawing forth a flood of controversy and protest from relatives and friends, resulted only in making the subject more perplexing than Bancroft had left it.

Frederick Dellenbaugh, who appraised the value of Frémont's explorations, attempted to go further but was balked in his attempts to secure the family papers, particularly the unfinished memoirs.

Herbert Bashford and Harr Wagner have contributed a fervidly favorable account which adds little that is new or critical.

Nevins now gives the first well-documented history of all the important phases and episodes of this strange career. He has been fortunate in obtaining the unpublished Frémont manuscripts, has searched the New York newspaper files and the government records, has made some use of Bancroft's materials, and has brought together a quantity of printed and manuscript sources of other kinds.

His work is particularly strong in the political and Civil War periods and the whole of Frémont's later life. It gives generous space to the influences and intrigues of Jessie. The western expedition and the Conquest receive some new light from the interesting analysis made of Frémont's character.

Frémont's defects and weaknesses certainly included nothing base or dishonorable. He appears as a noble-spirited gentleman, generous, sensitive and retiring, but hot-headed, tactless, headstrong and unamenable to the kind of discipline which he sometimes harshly imposed upon others. His misfortunes and mistakes were largely due to his lack of judgment, shrewdness, and even of good sense. He was a dreamer, impractical, visionary, poetic, who almost succeeded in attaining his ends but never quite did.

A singular alternation of near-successes and failures checkered his career, giving his life a colorful and dramatic interest perhaps unsurpassed by any other character in frontier history. He was a plaything of fate, tossed into glory

and wealth on the tide of the rising West and plunged finally into poverty and distress — "unlucky John."

He appears to deserve the appreciative treatment that Mr. Nevins has given him and his name will be surer in our history on account of it.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

Death Valley in '49 by William L. Manly. Edited by Milo Milton Quaife, Chicago: The Lakeside Press, 1927. xxiii + 307 pp., illustrations, 12°.

The overland emigrants of '49 traveled for the most part in the well known trails of their predecessors, the pre-gold rush trains. Accordingly, they added very little to what was already known of the great interior of the continent. The small company that blundered, all unwittingly, into Death Valley in the winter of 1849 is the only one that has earned a place in the records of geographical discovery. If there were any compensation for the frightful hardships they endured it was that they discovered a region to be shunned. If the name they gave had not been warning enough, the trail of human corpses and the bones of their famished oxen should have been.

The most reliable, the most detailed and the simplest of all the accounts of the Death Valley emigrants is this soul-stirring narrative of Manly's. It is Manly's third attempt at writing the story. He had kept a diary and from this had written a journal. His diary was lost and his journal while still in manuscript was burned. Not until his old age could he be prevailed upon to recount the harrowing tale. Then, after conversations with many survivors, he brought out his now justly famous book, crudely printed and illustrated, on a local press at San Jose, where the story had been run during preceding months in a farmers' magazine.

In the present reprint the adventures of Manly himself are followed a little more closely than in the original, making a shorter narrative. The editorial notes are wholly confined to events preceding the climax of the journey, and there is little attempt to elucidate the routes followed through the desert. The map furnished is a very general one with two grave errors. It takes Manly down the Colorado Canyons nearly to the mouth of the San Juan River, and it brings him into Southern California through Cajon Pass. Manly's trip down through the canyons of Green River in dugouts was one of the most remarkable voyages ever made on the upper Colorado. It was unknown to Powell and Dellenbaugh and has had only a brief mention by Dale. It is perfectly plain that Manly passed the mouth of the Uintah and that he did not go as far as the junction of the Grand. It appears very probable that he left the river near the present town of Green River, Utah.

Manly and Rogers were the outstanding heroes of the Death Valley party. They constituted a "Forlorn Hope," sent ahead to bring back relief, and they made three heart-breaking trips over the terrible trail to the settlements. They were the first to reach the coast, where they obtained succor at the San Francis-

quito or Camulos ranch in the Santa Clara Valley, which they found after a passage over the Sierra Liebre in the vicinity of Elizabeth Lake in the northwestern corner of what is now Los Angeles County.

Manly's narrative surely deserves to rank as a "classic" in the literature of the West, and its present reprinting in attractive form should be welcomed.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

My Seventy Years in California, 1857-1927. By J. A. Graves, Los Angeles: The Times-Mirror Press, 1927. xvii, 478 pp. Illustrations. 8°.

Mr. Graves celebrates his seventy-fifth anniversary with these memoirs; frank, intimate, personal, witty, and full of anecdote and story of old California days.

If we may read between the lines we shall see reflected a genial, sociable personality, withal a man of vigorous energy and accomplishment who has kept his record clear, his mind alert, and his eager, independent spirit unchecked.

If we look for history in these pages we shall find it, not so much in the pages of facts dealing with land-grants and the anecdotes of hunting and fishing excursions as in the vivid accounts of childhood days on the Feather River farm and the evolution of Los Angeles from post-pueblo to metropolis.

After early struggles as a member of a poor farmer's family, Mr. Graves put himself through St. Mary's College and became the first graduate of that institution. He then entered the law offices of Eastman and Neumann in San Francisco. In 1875 he followed Mr. Eastman to Los Angeles, where he continued as a clerk in the new firm of Brunson and Eastman. One year later he was admitted to the bar and entered into partnership with his old employers. In 1878 he began an independent practice and in 1880 joined with J. S. Chapman. This firm did well for five years, when it dissolved and Mr. Graves tendered a partnership to Mr. Henry W. O'Melveny. An extensive business was done with the local banks and with the San Francisco Board of Trade. This led to the inclusion of J. H. Shankland in the firm until its dissolution on January 1, 1904. Mr. Graves then entered the banking business. He is now president of the Farmers' and Merchants' National Bank in Los Angeles.

Mr. Graves leaves a record of the highlights of these years. His reflections are neither profoundly philosophical nor introspective; they are spontaneous, light-hearted, humorous, and full of the color and spirit of the times. His task of writing has evidently been enjoyable to him and his book carries that enjoyment to its readers.

CHARLES L. CAMP.

Outposts of Civilization. By W. A. Chalfant. Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1928. 193 pp.

I have just read this latest book by Chalfant, and I did not drop the book until the last page was turned. Legend, romance, blood and thunder, riches, but above all, history, indisputable and authenticated, mark this book as an outstanding accomplishment in California literature.

Those students of western history who have had occasion to search for records of human events of the Great Basin country and the Eastern Sierras, know full well of the dearth of such records. A few years ago it fell upon me to organize the human history of a certain region in California and it was, indeed, brought home that dependable references on Eastern California events were few and far between. *Outposts of Civilization* fills this need in a most gratifying manner and to a degree that will far surpass the demands of serious workers. Yet the casual reader will discover that the book is no compilation of dry accounts. On the contrary, every chapter is alive with the spirit of "The Old West." Plainsmen, Indians, bandits, miners, Pony Express riders, painted ladies, gamblers and gunmen parade through the pages most vivaciously, yet every incident is a fact, and therefore the more intriguing.

The author, son of a '49er, has spent a lifetime just east of the Sierras. He has engaged in literary pursuits and developed a compelling style of narration. His activities and associations have brought him in contact with the men who made the history of which he writes, and at a time when facts could be garnered. Through these friendships he has not only received the stories by word of mouth, but has obtained great numbers of letters of early date, and unpublished manuscripts. In addition to this fund of unique material, he has obtained much through research in old newspaper files and rare volumes. The result is a book which contributes more detail of this particular phase of western history than any which has yet appeared or is likely to appear. It is to be regretted that Mr. Chalfant did not "make his pages bristle with references and authorities," for I believe he is wrong in his assumption that "not one reader in fifty" makes use of an appended bibliography. However, I venture to say that he is correct in his declaration that the absence of references indicates no lack of care in compilation. Having covered some of the same source material used by him in my search for authentic facts in the Mono County history, I am of the opinion that *Outposts of Civilization* is not only entertainingly written, but dependable.

In the chapters pertaining to Aurora, that ghost of pre-rebellion mining, mention is made of the first Mono County Court House and its fragment of Plymouth Rock. It seems strange, indeed, that so interesting a bit of history should have had so little circulation. Through Mr. Victor Cain of Bodie, I heard the story some time ago, and it agrees in general with Mr. Chalfant's version. The probable presence within the walls of the long deserted Aurora building of a fragment of the sacred stone upon which the Mayflower passengers trod, grips one's imagination. A Massachusetts friend gave me opportunity to

check up on the tale from the Pilgrim Society end. The secretary of that organization states that a twenty-five-pound specimen of Aurora ore, "presented by New Englanders in Aurora," is still on exhibit in Pilgrim Hall. No doubt the fragment of Plymouth Rock in the Aurora Court House is just as much a reality. Four of Chalfant's chapters pertain to Aurora and the boundary dispute that finally excluded this county seat from the limits of California.

Virginia City and the Comstock provide material for five absorbing chapters. Bodie, and her notorious bad men, receive consideration in but one chapter. However, that one is fairly packed with anecdotes which portray the true spirit of the days of "a man for breakfast." Black Bart and his contemporaries as well as the earlier and later California bandits come in for thorough treatment. The description of the Carson Prison break, in 1871, and the related story of the naming of Convict Lake, were in themselves sufficient reason for this reviewer to go far to secure the book. A final chapter, "A Boy in California in Forty-Nine," was prepared by the author's father, P. A. Chalfant, and was published in his Bishop, California, newspaper in 1886.

A number of imperfections in the mechanical make-up of the book might be mentioned, but there are a hundred reasons why the volume should be widely circulated. Mr. Chalfant is to be congratulated and sincerely thanked for his zeal and fidelity in compiling detailed material on this epoch in California events, which all too soon would have been looked upon by historians as unattainable.

C. P. Russell.

Sierra Club Bulletin, Annual Number, February, 1928. Published by the Sierra Club, San Francisco, California. 106 pp., 33 plates. 8°.

The Sierra Club Bulletin for 1928 comes to hand just as this *Quarterly* goes to press. This publication is edited by Francis P. Farquhar, a member of the Board of Directors and of the Publication Committee of this Society, and its typographical excellence is assured by the fact that it carries the imprint of Taylor and Taylor. In addition to a number of articles dealing with the general subjects of mountaineering and of the Sierra Nevada, this issue contains several articles of a historical character, among which should be mentioned Samuel Merrill's "Personal Recollections of John Muir," Carl P. Russell's informative study of "Early Mining Excitements East of Yosemite" (illustrated with views and maps of Lundy, the Mt. Dana Summit Mine, and Bodie), and Mr. Farquhar's discussion of the "Spanish Discovery of the Sierra Nevada."

The last mentioned article is of particular interest because of the reproduction of Father Crespi's map of the San Francisco Bay region drawn in 1772, the original of which is preserved in the archives at Seville, and which shows the San Joaquin River debouching from the mountains. Mr. Farquhar points out that the Spaniard was neither a fur trader nor a hunter of game, and since he suspected nothing of the gold of this forbidding range, he found his way into the interior valleys and the Sierra foothills only because of the presence of Indians — horse thieves or prospective neophytes according to the point of

view — in that, to him, inhospitable region. Indeed, as late as the expedition of Jedediah Smith, in 1827, when the Sierra was first crossed by white men, the Californians knew only that there existed to the eastward a great range of mountains, with numerous rivers converging into the Sacramento and the San Joaquin, with barren foothills and extensive forests beyond them, and with summits covered with snow. To the Anglo-Saxon was left the real discovery of this mysterious range and of the treasure that lay unsuspected within its embrace.

CARL I. WHEAT.

Pamphlets:

El Pueblo, Los Angeles Before the Railroads [By Laurance L. Hill]. Los Angeles: Equitable Branch of the Security Trust & Savings Bank, 1928. 80 pp., numerous illust.

German Pioneers in Early California, by Erwin G. Gudde. The Concord Society. Hoboken, N. J., 1927. 26 pp., illust.

Vallejo, Address of, before the Junta of 1846 at Monterey. Privately printed by Schwabacher-Frey Stationery Co., San Francisco, 1927.

The first of these three pamphlets was prepared as a souvenir to mark the opening of a new building for the Equitable Branch of the Security Trust & Savings Bank at Los Angeles, and is profusely illustrated with scenes and portraits dealing with early Los Angeles. It is the ninth of a series of similar pamphlets issued by this institution on the occasion of the completion of branch bank buildings. Although slightly lacking in typographical style, this series is notable for its accurate recording of historical facts and for the many unusual illustrations which have been included. Mr. Hill is particularly successful in this latest effort, and we trust that further examples of his energy and scholarship will be forthcoming.

In his brief study of the German pioneers of California, Professor Gudde has called attention to a phase of early western development which is of more than passing interest. California's youth was cosmopolitan to a degree unknown in any other American commonwealth. Long ago the important contributions of the French in early California were recorded by Daniel Lévy in *Les Francais en Californie,* but the Germans, as such, have until now been given no such recognition. Yet Sutter, Leese, Lick, Sutro, Weber (founder of Stockton), Albert Miller (founder of the first savings bank in San Francisco and father of Vice-President C. O. G. Miller of this Society), and many another notable pioneer were of that race, while the three most important interior towns of gold-rush days, Sacramento, Marysville and Stockton, were founded by Germans. It is to be hoped that Dr. Gudde will eventually embody his researches into more extensive as well as more permanent form.

General Vallejo's famous speech to the Junta of 1846 has been printed before, but probably never in such sumptuous and artistic format. This brochure, which is the product of the printing branch of the Schwabacher-Frey

establishment, presents this subject in a manner worthy of its theme, for in this brief but eloquent address the great "protector of the northern frontier" sets forth the unwisdom of Pico and his associates in seeking relief for California's ills from European powers, and presents in striking language the advantages to be hoped from annexation to the Yankee nation then pouring the first waters of its human cataract over the Rockies and through the passes of the Sierra. That the result, so far as the native Californians were concerned, did not meet Vallejo's expectations is not to be cast at his door, for he, of all his race, did most to bring about an orderly and successful development of what he happily termed "a common destiny."

CARL I. WHEAT.

NEW MEMBERS

Adams, Herbert Lincoln, Alameda

Auerbach, Herbert S., Salt Lake City, Utah

Buck, Frank H., Piedmont

Cords, Robert, Jr., Los Angeles

de Fremery, Miss Susan, Oakland

Draper, Mrs. Charles A., Palo Alto

Elder, Paul, San Francisco

Eyre, Mrs. Edward, San Francisco

Giannini, A. P., San Mateo

Giannini, Mrs. A. P., San Mateo

Hare, Lloyd C., Berkeley

Hutchings, DeWitt V., Riverside

Josslyn, Miss Marjorie, Woodside

Matson, Mrs. William, San Francisco

Parrott, William G., San Mateo

Pawlicki, T. E., San Francisco

Shaw, J. P., Oakland

Spreckels, C. A., New York City

Stern, Mrs. Sigmund, San Francisco

Streeter, Thomas W., New York City

Tobin, Richard M., The Hague, Netherlands

Wheeler, Mrs. Charles Stetson, San Francisco

MEETINGS OF THE SOCIETY

At the monthly luncheon of the Society held at the Clift Hotel, December 20, 1927, Mrs. Gertrude Atherton was the speaker, her subject being, "Rezánov and Concha Argüello." Briefly alluding to the great desire she had had, for many years, to write the story of Rezánov — of his dreams and romance, "which alone was to keep his name alive" — Mrs. Atherton told of her inability to interest publishers in the subject; and of how, subsequently, the opportunity came to her, most unexpectedly, through a rush order for a novel which could be sold for fifty cents, the subject to be of her choice, which, needless to say, was Rezánov.

Taking a room at the Berkeley Inn, which commanded a view of the Golden Gate through which Rezánov had sailed one hundred years before, she started her novel. Three days of writing, then came the earthquake and fire, and the advent of the homeless from San Francisco. Realizing that no rush order could be delivered in such confusion, she crossed to Belvedere, where she finished *Rezánov* in the quiet seclusion of her daughter's house.

The meeting was unusually well attended, 102 being present.

MARY ESTELL CURRY.

The Annual Business meeting of the Society was held on January 21, 1928, in conjunction with the monthly luncheon at the Clift Hotel. After the luncheon and business meeting, George D. Lyman, M. D., read a paper, illustrated with lantern slides, on "The Sponge, James King of William, His Surgeons and the Vigilantes."

Dr. Lyman reviewed briefly the incidents in the life of James King of William that led to his assassination by James P. Casey. He then gave, in great detail, the history of the surgical measures used by the attending physicians in dealing with the case and alluded in passing to the disagreement among them as to authority and methods.

The insertion of a sponge to prevent bleeding from an artery, supposed to have been severed, became a pivotal question.

At a subsequent meeting of the State Medical Society, Dr. R. Beverly Cole, who was the first physician to attend King after the shooting, but who was later excluded from the consultations of the group of physicians who took charge of the case, bitterly attacked the handling of the situation. Lengthy replies to the attack were published. The feeling ran high in medical circles over the controversy. Outside of medical circles, the disagreement had its consequences, for the matter was rehearsed in court at the trial of Ned McGowan for complicity in the murder of James King of William. The trial was held in Napa, to which county McGowan's attorneys had the case removed, because of prejudice in San Francisco. In charging the jury, the judge told them, among other instructions, that if in their opinion the treatment of the wound could

have prevented recovery, they should acquit. Whether on this instruction or some other one, McGowan was acquitted.

Dr. Lyman said that he had first had his interest in the case aroused by purchasing at auction the scrap book of Dr. Cole. He drew much material for the paper from its contents and then sought the other first hand sources which rounded out a very complete and interesting presentation of the subject and some of its sidelights.

Over a hundred people were present.

The monthly luncheon meeting of the Society was held at the Clift Hotel on Tuesday, February 21, 1928. The speaker was Mr. Harry L. Todd, Postmaster of San Francisco; his topic was "Washington, the Patriot."

Mr. Todd reviewed Washington's long military service, first for the Crown and then for the revolutionary colonies. He reminded his hearers that when Washington assumed command of the army at the request of the Congress assembled by the thirteen colonies he refused any compensation for his own services, saying that he would render an account of his necessary expenses for himself and staff. Turning from the military to the public life of Washington, he reviewed his various views on the important issues of the day from the time of Patrick Henry's speech to the Constitutional Convention and the debates over the ratification of the Constitution.

During all of these times Washington unhesitatingly subjected himself to danger, sacrificed his personal inclinations or private property to the call of duty, and bent all of his energies to advance the common cause of the colonists.

Mr. Todd gave a passing review of Washington's biographers, condemning very vigorously the first and the last. The former came in for hearty condemnation for embroidering on a tissue of fancy, to cloud the real personality of his subject, the latter for scorn that he should have spent his time hunting for fly-specks on a canvas of such heroic proportions.

Mr. Todd closed with the statement that no monument to Washington has been erected in California. He had therefore suggested to the architect who had come out to plan for the Federal Building in the Civic Center, that the entrance to the building would be a fit place to install one, together with panels preserving some of his famous public utterances.

About thirty members and guests attended.

ANSON S. BLAKE.

Annual Meeting

Previous to the address of Dr. Lyman the election of Directors for the year 1928 took place, the incumbents being returned to office by a unanimous vote. The reports of officers and committees were then read, and are printed below.

Report of the Secretary and Treasurer
For the Year Ending December 31, 1927

Membership

Members January 1, 1927		290	
Elected 1927		58	
		348	
Resigned (1 patron, 8 active)	9		
Dropped for non-payment of dues	1		
Deaths (1 patron, 6 active)	7	17	
Total Membership December 31, 1927		331	Net Gain—41

During the year Mr. Milton H. Esberg was transferred from active to patron membership and John W. Robertson, M. D., was transferred from patron to active membership. (As Mr. Huntington's name is included in the deaths, the Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery is listed as a new active member instead of a transfer from patron to active membership.)

Meetings

Twelve Board meetings were held by the Directors during the year, and the Society held eleven luncheon meetings, the first of which included the annual business meeting. The luncheon meetings were as follows:

Jan. 28: "The Pious Fund of California before The Hague Tribunal," Judge Jackson H. Ralston.
Feb. 25: "The Escalante Expedition to California, 1776," Dr. Herbert E. Bolton.
Mar. 29: "The Story of the Last Expedition of Dr. Josiah Gregg, Author and Adventurer, and His Discovery of Humboldt Bay," Hon. Charles P. Cutten.
April 26: "Society of California Pioneers and Pioneer Days," Mr. Charles S. Cushing.
May 24: "General John A. Sutter," Dr. Clarence John DuFour.
June 21: "John C. Frémont," Hon. James D. Phelan.
Aug. 28: "General Persifor F. Smith," Colonel L. H. Bash.
Sept. 27: "Robert Louis Stevenson, Californian," Mr. John Howell.
Oct. 25: "Social Life in Spanish California," Mrs. Nellie Van de Grift Sanchez.
Nov. 29: "San Francisco, 1846-48," Mr. Anson S. Blake.
Dec. 20: "Rezánov and Concha Argüello," Mrs. Gertrude Atherton.

At the August luncheon meeting the members of the Society and their friends were guests of Mr. and Mrs. Melville Schweitzer at their ranch near Sonoma.

Exhibitions and Moving

During the year the Society moved from the quarters it had occupied at 85 Second Street to the Women's Building, 609 Sutter Street, Room 301, obtaining by the move more commodious quarters and far better opportunity to display material than had been the case in the past. The move from the old quarters entailed equipping the new quarters properly to exhibit the material that the Society has. In response to a request for funds to meet the cost of new equipment, $1231.50 was contributed by the following persons: Anson S. Blake, George P. Castle, Robert E. Cowan, Templeton Crocker, F. M. DeWitt, Boutwell Dunlap, Sidney M. Ehrman, Mrs. O. A. Hale, Mrs. Robert B. Henderson, John Howell, Miss Dorothy H. Huggins, H. A. Johnson, Miss Elizabeth W. Latham, William C. Latham, David Magee, C. O. G. Miller, Frederic R. Sherman, H. D. B. Soulé, Mrs. H. Studdert Kennedy, and D. Q. Troy; while Mrs. Alfred Sutro presented the Society with the material for the hangings at the rooms. With the increased space that is available in the new quarters it is possible for the Society to house and display Mr. Templeton Crocker's complete collection of Californiana, which is available to all members.

A case of material was exhibited by the Society at the Book Fair of the League of American Pen Women at the Mark Hopkins Hotel, during the first week in March; and on moving into the new quarters the Society held an exhibit from May 31 to June 4. A report of the Exhibit Committee will be read later.

Gifts and Loans

For gifts and loans of books, pamphlets, pictures, manuscripts, and other historical items (aside from the material lent only for the Exhibit) the Society is indebted to the following: Baltimore and Ohio Railroad, Edwin L. Bruck, M. D., Mrs. George J. Bucknall, Commodore James H. Bull, Mrs. John Rogers Clark, Colorado State Historical and Natural History Society, Robert E. Cowan, Templeton Crocker, Miss Josephine F. Daniels, Fred M. DeWitt, Arthur O. Dillon, Harry E. Dore, Sidney M. Ehrman, Mrs. F. D. Elwell, Francis P. Farquhar, Filson Club and University of Louisville, Tirey L. Ford, George W. Hendry, Graphic Arts Engraving Co., Huguenot Society, Miss Sarah Louise Kimball, Victor M. Kinnaman, H. C. Kirkpatrick, Miss Eliza M. Kline, Miss Elizabeth W. Latham, A. T. Leonard, Jr., M. D., Henry Polk Lowenstein, George D. Lyman, M. D., Harold L. Mack, M. Hall McAllister, E. Philpott Mumford, Native Sons of the Golden West, Newberry Library, M. M. O'Shaughnessy, Pacific Telephone and Telegraph Co., John A. Percy, Eugene Pivany, Edward Rainey, Miss Georgia W. Read, John W. Robertson, M. D., Mrs. Frances Shirland Rosales, Miss Golda Schoenfeld, Mr. and Mrs. Melville Schweitzer, Miss Jean Scupham, Society of California Pioneers, H. D. B. Soulé, Mrs. John Boies Tileston, William D. Tillinghast, Wyoming State Department of History, Henry R. Wagner, D. M. Watson, Mrs. J. O. Weinstrom, Miss Lottie G. Woods, and John P. Zipf.

The Society is also greatly indebted to Mr. Sidney M. Ehrman for advancing the cost of publication of the De Massey Journal, "A Frenchman in the Gold Rush," and to Mr. Templeton Crocker for the payment of a portion of the rent of the Society's quarters.

Financial

Cash on hand, January 1, 1927			$ 115.65
Receipts during 1927:			
Dues of Patron Members		$2400.00	
Back Dues of Patron Members		200.00	
Dues of Active Members		2680.00	
Advance Dues of Active Members		310.00	
Sale of Quarterlies		195.00	
Sale of Other Publications		55.20	
Contributions:			
Furnishing Fund	$1231.50		
Rent	525.00		
Printing	220.00		
Miscellaneous	2.00	1978.50	$7818.70
			$7934.35
Disbursements:			
Rent		$1975.00	
Salary of Corresponding Secretary		1725.00	
Additional Office Help		90.45	
Telephone		73.09	
Stationery and Office Supplies		73.33	
Luncheon Meetings		159.55	
Exhibits		87.75	
Moving		86.48	
Furnishings		1231.50	
Quarterly		1785.21	
Printing De Massey Journal		220.00	
Miscellaneous Printing		157.25	
Taxes		9.59	
Postage and Miscellaneous		107.82	
		$7782.02	
On hand December 31, 1927		152.33	
			$7934.35

This statement includes the cost of only three numbers of the Quarterly, the fourth not having been paid for until after the close of the year. Had this item been included, there would have resulted a deficit of about $350.00.

The sum of $250.00 still remains to be paid upon the original $750.00 loan.

Respectfully submitted,

ANSON S. BLAKE,
Secretary and Treasurer.

Report of the Publication Committee

It is with regret that your publication Committee reports the resignation of Dr. Charles L. Camp as Chairman. Dr. Camp began his services on the committee with the publication of Vol. I, No. 3, of the *Quarterly,* and in 1925 became chairman, serving ably in this capacity from the publication of Vol. IV, No. 4, to Vol. VI, No. 3. He has generously agreed to continue to share with your new committee his scholarship and counsel.

The reorganized committee commenced its efforts with the last number of Vol. VI. This number is notable because it marks the beginning of a new series of articles by Mr. Henry R. Wagner on the Spanish Voyages to the Californias during the sixteenth century. This series will, in all probability, be published in book form by Mr. Wagner after its completion in the *Quarterly.*

The purpose of your committee continues to be to devote most of the space to printing source material and original unpublished articles relating to the development of California. Although the space in the *Quarterly* is limited, we can thus bring to the attention of scholars and the general public many important matters which have hitherto been unavailable in printed form.

While we are glad to report that several interesting contributions relating to our particular field are already at hand, we urge both members and friends of the Society to submit for publication any original documents, diaries, manuscript reminiscences, or similar items which may be in their possession, and we also urge the submission of original articles or essays upon matters pertinent to the history of the West. The publication of the De Massey letters and the Clyman Journal in book form inaugurates a new policy on the part of the Society which we trust will be supported in a material way by sufficient orders for these valuable historical volumes to cover their cost. The *Frenchman in the Gold Rush* is now available, and may be obtained from the Secretary. Orders are also being taken now for the Clyman Journal, which will be ready soon.

Your Committee again wishes to express its appreciation for the assistance which Miss Dorothy Huggins continues to render in connection with the detailed problems involved in the preparation and printing of the *Quarterly.*

Respectfully submitted,

Carl I. Wheat,
Chairman.

Report of the Exhibit Committee

There were but two exhibits held during the fiscal year of 1927.

The first was in cooperation with the League of American Pen Women at their Book Fair held at the Mark Hopkins Hotel, during the first week of March. The material exhibited was of a general historical nature, selected from the collection of Mr. C. Templeton Crocker.

Our second exhibit was held in our new quarters in the Women's Building, May 31-June 4, and consisted of a loan exhibit of material of a general historic character, which when installed in our new cases, and with a proper wall setting, proved the most pleasing exhibit we have as yet displayed.

Respectfully submitted,

Fred M. DeWitt,
Chairman.

IN MEMORIAM

Walter A. Nimocks

One of our most aged members, perhaps the very oldest, Mr. Walter A. Nimocks, passed away in Los Angeles on December 2. He was born in Jonesville, Michigan, June 14, 1840, and spent most of his life in Minneapolis, where he published for a long period the *Farmers' Union*. He was best known perhaps for his later ownership of the *Minneapolis Journal*. Many years ago Mr. Nimocks came to California and bought Santa Fe Springs, the scene of such a great oil excitement not long ago. It was, when he owned it, one of the show places of the State. In recent years he passed his time chiefly in Minneapolis, Los Angeles and San Francisco, engaged in the pleasing occupation of chatting with his numerous acquaintances. He was in perfect health up to a short time before his death and retained his marvelous memory until the last. No more unselfish or kindly man ever walked the face of the earth, and his passing is a source of keen regret to his many friends who loved him almost as a father.

Henry R. Wagner.

Henry Root

With the death on February 23 of Henry Root, distinguished engineer and last of the "old guard" who built the Central Pacific, this Society has lost one of its most enthusiastic members. Although not often able to be present at its meetings, Mr. Root followed the work of this organization with keen interest. Born in Vermont on November 27, 1845, most of his eighty-two years were spent in California, to which State he came early in 1864 to practice his youthful profession of surveying.

In 1866 he became one of the assistants of S. S. Montague, who had succeeded Theodore D. Judah as Chief Engineer of the Central Pacific Railroad. Lines, grades and tunnels were the order of the day, and on November 27 of that year, his twenty-first birthday, he recorded in his diary that "the track is across the Butte Cañon trestle." As assistant to Mr. McCloud on construction during 1867 and 1868 he had much to do with the final running of the line over the summit of the Sierra and up the Humboldt River.

After the completion of the main line, Mr. Root came to San Francisco and for some years occupied the position of Assistant Engineer in charge of local engineering work in the bay district. Later he had much to do with the construction of the California Street Cable Railroad, and he became an authority on cable street railroad design and practice, being consulted on the subject by engineers from all parts of the country. His patents on several phases of cable construction became very valuable as such work progressed in various cities.

During his later years Mr. Root found much time for philanthropic work of varied character, and he gave generously of his large Oakland properties for

public library and street uses. Some years ago he published for private circulation a volume entitled *Henry Root, Personal History and Reminiscences, 1845-1921,* in which he included a mass of valuable historical material dealing with the construction of the railroads and street railroads of the West. Shortly thereafter he joined this Society, and followed its efforts with increasing eagerness. He will be missed by the many friends to whom his kindly advice and assistance was so generously given.

CARL I. WHEAT.

HENRY HAMILTON SHERWOOD

Henry Hamilton Sherwood, a prominent member of this Society, died at his home in Oakland on December 9, 1927, at the age of 68 years. He was born in San Francisco, and attended the old Lincoln School, for which he retained a deep interest throughout his life — taking an active part in the recent movement which brought about the erection of the Lincoln statue in front of the City Hall. He attended Harvard College, Class of '82, was prominent and popular with his classmates, and rowed on his class crew. After graduation he was, for a brief time, a student at the Harvard Law School, after which he returned to San Francisco and became a partner in the mercantile and importing business with which he continued to be occupied until shortly before his death, being, for over forty years, the president and head of the mercantile firm of "Sherwood & Sherwood" and of its successor, the "Sherwood Company." He was actively interested in many of the civic organizations of the city, was an active member of the Sierra Club, and took part in many of its outings in the Sierras. He was always deeply interested in his Alma Mater, was loyally devoted to the associates of his college days, and was for two years President of the Harvard Club of San Francisco.

Mr. Sherwood was married in 1885 to Miss Mary E. Warner of New York City, who survives him, as do their two daughters and one son. Throughout his boyhood and the first years of his married life, his residence was in San Francisco; but for about thirty years past he and his family have lived in Alameda, Berkeley, and Oakland in succession — with many visits, in recent years, to his country place in the mountains near Santa Cruz.

These details as to his occupations and doings during the sixty-eight years of his life are not, however, the things that "Harry" Sherwood's friends and associates are thinking of in connection with his death. What they are thinking of is his simplicity and fine straight-forwardness that made him always the soul of honor; his sweetness and kindness of heart that made other men feel a tenderness and a real affection for him; and his loyalty and devotion that made him a true friend. All who knew him at all well will retain a sweet remembrance of him.*

* The writer of this note of Mr. Sherwood's passing has requested that his name be not printed. Ed.